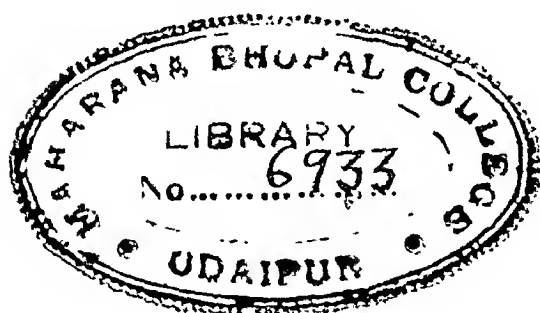


A SOURCE BOOK OF MODERN INDIAN EDUCATION

1797 to 1902

Compiled by
M. R. PARANJPE, M. A., B. Sc.



MACMILLAN AND COMPANY, LIMITED
LONDON
BOMBAY CALCUTTA MADRAS

1938

INTRODUCTION

All schemes of constructive planning for the future, require careful examination of the past, and the people of India who are now, through their elected representatives in the legislatures planning the education of India to come, will feel, if they have not felt already, the need of studying carefully the educational policy which has shaped the India of today.

Indian Educational Policy of today was planned and organised by a foreign agency and has been submitted to the severest criticism. It is described as a foreign plant, not suited to the Indian soil and therefore showing an unseemly growth. It is described as an attempt to make India lose her national characteristics and make the people, Indian by birth but English in taste, manners and outlook. It is believed to have been an attempt to make India a Christian nation. The commonest indictment has been that the chief objective of the Indian Educational Policy, as conceived in 1835, pursued in 1854, and emphasised in 1882, has been to obtain English-knowing recruits for the subordinate services of British India. By enforcing a foreign medium of instruction, it is believed to have arrested the development of Indian languages and Indian intellect. Not unoften, again, the Indian education of the last hundred years is charged with making India less religious and therefore less moral; or again, less willing to accept the dictums of elders and therefore less disciplined, and less loyal to authorities.

It is again a universal complaint, somewhat conflicting with the above indictment, that the growth of Indian education has not been as rapid and as varied as it should have been to make India efficiently shoulder the responsibilities of a self-governing nation. The literacy percentage is still disgracefully small, and even in this

small percentage of literates there appears an alarming disparity between literate men and literate women; adult education is totally neglected, and the ideals of education are more suited to the upper strata of the society, cultural rather than utilitarian, literary rather than scientific, creating more lawyers than industrialists, and service seekers rather than skilled artisans. There has been a woeful neglect of physical education and consequent disappearance of love for adventure and daring, virtues essential for the defence of one's land.

As against this charge sheet are presented the many benefits brought to India by the new education of the last century. The acquaintance with English has made possible inter-provincial and inter-national exchanges of views, opened out a treasure of knowledge concealed from Indians in the past, and revolutionised their social and political outlooks. India, it is claimed, has, in the last hundred years, ceased to be a field of exploitation for foreign adventurers, and has been steadily, if slowly, marching to a place among the leading nations of the world, which she once was politically, economically and educationally. For the first time in the last two thousand years is successfully challenged the caste-system of India and the consequent parochial outlook inherent in the people. Learning is no longer a privilege of the few and the Brahman and the Chandal forget the distinction in their status at birth and work as colleagues for common ends. Once again her poets, her scientists, her artists, her social and political workers have ceased to be local luminaries and have acquired international fame. Her rise from the status of a conquered country to that of a self-governing nation, which is now assured, is ascribed, in a great measure, to the influence of the new educational policy adopted by Lord William Bentinck in 1835 and perseveringly enforced by later Governor-Generals.

It would be wrong to plan the education of the India to come, without acquiring a close grasp of the past, without accurately evaluating the indictment and the encomium of the

Educational Policy of the last hundred years. It would be still more wrong to accept the evaluation made by another, whatever be his authority in the field of education. Numerous volumes have been published in the last fifty years, professing to give a correct appreciation of the Educational System of Modern India; but owing to their peculiar environments, the authors of these volumes have had, in most cases, points of view different from what the Indian people must develop now, that of a statesman confident of his power of shaping the future, suited to the nation's needs and aspirations. The points of view of the authors, till now, have been those of Christian missionaries, British officials, ardent nationalists, foreign tourists, literary artists or arm-chair critics. In our march of progress they will still serve as resting places, but it would be a mistake to use them, all or any, as our guide.

The most reliable of the volumes are naturally the official publications, the numerous reports and the material collected for those reports or the statements made by the heads of Governments from time to time. And they who will have the privilege of moulding the education of future India must read them all, master the details and understand their importance. But these volumes are not easily accessible to the public and as it is of extreme importance, in a Democratic Government, for the people to have enough knowledge of the subject to appreciate and even control the measures implemented by their elected representatives, it seemed necessary to make available to the average reader, at least the most important of these official publications.

A SOURCE BOOK OF MODERN INDIAN EDUCATION is intended to meet this felt need. It covers a period of about 100 years (actually 1797 to 1902). It was in 1813 that the East India Company gave evidence of their consciousness that they were in India not a mere company of traders but Government, and as such had to shoulder certain responsibilities

for the welfare of the people. In SECTION 43 OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S ACT OF 1813 provision was made for a sum "not less than a lakh of rupees," as India Government's budget grant for Education. In 1913, soon after the visit of His Majesty King George V, Government of India enunciated their Educational Policy which, together with that of Lord Curzon's Government in 1904, may well be regarded as a prelude to the educational administration of the next twenty-five years. Fifteen documents of the period, 1797 to 1902, are published hereafter, all but three of them being taken from official records and publications. Even the three non-official documents are incorporated as parts of official publications. The fifteen documents are as mile-posts in this trek and should help a lay-reader to obtain a good view of it.

*

*

*

The first of these fifteen documents, CHARLES GRANT'S OBSERVATIONS serves as a sort of introduction to the study. Grant lived in India when the country was in the grip of virtual anarchy, when the existing Governments were tottering and the new Government had not obtained a firm footing. It was a period when life and property were always in danger and when it was risky to confide even in one's dearest friend or relation; when learning was at a discount, appalling ignorance and superstition prevailed in the land, and the people were harassed by thugs, pindarees, or mercenaries in alien employment. In his OBSERVATIONS, Grant describes India as he saw her in the last decade of the eighteenth century and demands immediate measures for the improvement of Indian morality through education. His diagnosis was incorrect but his prescription was wholesome. The excerpts from Grant's Observations printed hereafter are inoffensive comparatively. But the "Observations" as a whole, are an unsavoury reading. "In the worst parts of Europe," says Grant, "there are no doubt a great number of men who are sincere, upright and conscientious. In Bengal, a man of real

veracity and integrity is a great phenomenon; one conscientious in the whole of his conduct, it is to be feared, is an unknown character.....Power entrusted to a native of Hindoostan seldom fails of being exercised tyrannically, or perverted to the purposes of injustice. Official or ministerial employments of all sorts, and in all gradations, are generally used as means of speculation.....The distribution of justice.....has commonly become a traffic in venality; the best cause being obliged to pay for success, and the worst having the opportunity of purchasing it,..... Such is the power of money, that no crime is more frequent, hardly any less thought of, than perjury..... The apathy with which a Hindoo views all persons and interests unconnected with himself, is such as excites the indignation of Europeans..... Patriotism is absolutely unknown in Hindoostan." But in offering this harsh criticism Grant felt he was, like a surgeon, only exposing the rotten limb before it was severed from the healthier parts of the body. "The delineation from which this conclusion is formed," says he, "has been a task so painful, that nothing except the consciousness of meaning to do good could have induced the author to proceed in it."*

Grant's remedy for curing this malady, oppressing Hindoostan, was "the communication of our light and knowledge to them", light of "our religion" and the knowledge of "our language". Both these measures were already in force; the Christian missionaries had already begun their work of evangelization through education. The education obtained in missionary institutions led to a demand for schools teaching English and.

* It seems that later readers of Grant, though better situated to obtain a more correct estimation of the moral qualities of the Indian people, wilfully or otherwise, allowed their judgments to be influenced by Grant's Observations and continued to make similar statements, even a century later. Cf. Lord Curzon's statement regarding respect for truth in the average Indian, or Lord Baden Powell's pronouncement that Indian languages have no word for "Character".

modern science through English, instead of those teaching classical languages—Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic—and modern science through these languages. RAMMOHUN ROY'S ADDRESS is an evidence of that demand. The Committee of Public Instruction were evenly divided when the question was submitted to them. MACAULAY'S MINUTE and PRINCEP'S NOTE were the last shots exchanged by the warring parties and Macaulay came out victorious.

Too much importance is given to this controversy of Anglicists and Classicists, by the writers on Indian Education. Some describe Princep as a champion of classical languages of the east and others hail Macaulay as a torch-bearer in the path of progress. The importance of the conflict lay not in the issue under dispute, but in the decisive character of its termination. *Selections from Educational Records, Vol. I, by Sharp* prints a few more letters in this controversy which a reader interested in it may read with advantage. But the note of Princep printed in this volume shows that Princep was conscious of the weakness of his case and was apparently struggling for the retention of the existing institutions of Oriental learning rather than for continuing the practice of using Sanskrit, Persian or Arabic as a medium of instruction. Macaulay led the winning side and launched his attack with all the rhetoric at his command. But he, too, knew that he was not offering the correct alternative: "All parties seem to be agreed", says he, "on one point, that the dialects commonly spoken among the natives of this part of India contain neither literary nor scientific information, and are moreover so poor and rude that, until they are enriched from some other, it will not be easy to translate any valuable work into them. It seems to be admitted on all sides, that the intellectual improvement of those classes of the people who have the means of pursuing higher studies can at present be effected only by means of some language not vernacular amongst them. What then shall that

Language be? One-half of the Committee maintain that it should be English. The other half strongly recommend the Arabic and Sanskrit. The whole question seems to me to be: Which language is the best worth knowing?"

Macaulay's question apparently did not reach the Deccan or he would have found out that "the dialects spoken among the natives" of another part of India were *not* "so poor and rude that it will not be easy to translate any valuable work into them". That was being done in Bombay and with considerable amount of success. The echoes of the Bengal controversy apparently reached Bombay ten years later and a battle royal was fought there, not between Anglicists and Classicists, but between Anglicists and Vernacularists. It was, in fact, a more important controversy; but because it was regarded as of little consequence after the earlier fight, or because the battlefield was a seat of a Provincial Government, or because the conclusion was not so decisive in character, very few persons outside the Province of Bombay appear to know about it.

In 1838, that is three years after Macaulay penned his Minute and Bentinck wrote out his resolution, Sir Charles Trevelyan, a Bengal civilian, who was both a relation and an admirer of Macaulay, published a book, *EDUCATION OF THE PEOPLE OF INDIA*, defending the view of the Anglicists. The last chapter of that book was submitted by him to the Select Committee of the House of Lords appointed, in 1852, to inquire into the affairs of India and that chapter is selected for this volume. It is not an official publication but has the status of one; for Trevelyan, in his book, expounded probably not only his personal views but also those of the official group which then dominated the Governor-General's Council. Visualising the probable consequences of English education in India, he remarks: "The existing connection between two such distant countries as England and India, cannot, in the nature of things, be permanent, no effort of policy can prevent the natives from ultimately regaining their independence.

But there are two ways of arriving at the point. One of these is through the medium of revolution; and the other through that of reform. In one, the forward movement is sudden and violent; in the other, it is gradual and peaceable The only means at our disposal for preventing the one and securing the other class of results is, to set the natives on a process of European improvement, to which they are already sufficiently inclined..... No doubt, both these schemes of national improvement suppose the termination of English rule; but in one, the sudden and violent over-throw of our Government is a necessary preliminary; in the other, a long continuance of our administration, and the gradual withdrawal of it as the people become fit to govern themselves, are equally indispensable". Or again, "if our interest and our duty were really opposed to each other, every good man, every honest Englishman, would know which to prefer. Our national experience has given us too deep a sense of the true ends of Government, to allow us to think of carrying on the administration of India except for the benefit of the people of India Happily, however, we are not on this occasion called upon to make any effort of disinterested magnanimity". On reading this chapter, one feels that one's ideas about the motives of the early architects of India's modern educational structure need revision.

LORD HARDINGE'S RESOLUTION OF 1844 is often referred to as an evidence in support of the contention that Government's objective in introducing English education in India was to secure English-knowing subordinates for the services. But properly interpreted the resolution may tell a different story. It appears that the heads of Government Departments would not appoint English-educated persons and preferred those who were not so educated but had better social status. The Resolution was intended to discourage that practice. A more correct reading of the situation may be that the Indian people were attracted to education by the lure of Government appointments.

more than by the cultural advantages of the English language and Government were not unwilling to use that bait to catch a larger number in their nets—the English schools and colleges.

THE EDUCATIONAL DESPATCH OF 1854 is often described as the Magna Charta of Modern Indian Education. A careful perusal of this lengthy document of 100 paragraphs—the number is probably not an accident—would expose the fact that it is but an ordinary instrument of instructions to the Government of India, approving the practice already in vogue and explaining in what respects the Court of Directors of the East India Company desired improvement. It gives a good view of the administration of education before 1854 and of what, in the opinion of the Hon'ble Court, it should be; and it served as an excellent guide for thirty years that is till the Education Commission of 1882 gave a new lead.

THE EDUCATIONAL DESPATCH OF 1859 is a tame document, its purpose being mainly to review the condition of education in British India after the disturbances of 1857 were suppressed and normal conditions were nearly restored. Its value lies in the fact that it serves as a good starting point for measuring the progress of education in this land, in the last 80 years.

Among the many problems discussed in these Despatches one is attracted by the rather disproportionate emphasis on the grant-in-aid scheme, when the number of aided institutions was negligibly small; and for a fuller appreciation of it one has to know the back-ground of the picture. The earlier Christian missionaries in India, hoped to make India a Christian nation and proposed to gain that end through schools and colleges. Their efforts in that direction were partially successful and led them to believe that English education tended to make pupils less Hindu and therefore more Christian. They, therefore, ardently supported the cause of the Anglicists in the Macaulay-Princep controversy, but were soon disappointed to find that the Govern-

ment-managed English schools and colleges were obstacles rather than help in their work of proselytisation. The Court of Directors had, for expediency rather than for principle, adopted an attitude of rigid neutrality in religious matters and directed their agents in India to keep the Government educational institutions strictly secular in character, and, if any aid was given to religio-educational institutions, to see that it was given only for the secular results achieved. The Government officials, therefore, found it difficult to aid missionary institutions which had not declared severance between their educational and proselytising departments.

The Government institutions again were regarded by the missionaries as anti-Christian. Not only did the Government institutions draw a large number of Indian boys who would have otherwise sought admission to missionary schools, but made the pupils a free-thinking community. The pupils lost their faith in Hindu superstitions but were unwilling to accept Christian superstitions as a substitute and that had its effect even on the attitude of the pupils in mission schools, who learnt English, became less Hindu, but would not accept the superiority of Christianity. A demand was, therefore, made that Government should encourage private effort which, in those days, meant missionary effort chiefly; and the Court of Directors appear to have yielded to the request. Paragraph 50 of the Despatch, for instance, says: "At the same time, in so far as the noble exertions of societies of Christians of all denominations to guide the natives of India in the way of religious truth, and to instruct uncivilised races.....have been accompanied, in their educational establishments, by the diffusion of improved knowledge, they have largely contributed to the spread of that education which it is our object to promote". Paragraph 56 directs: "The amount and continuation of the assistance given will depend upon the periodical reports of inspectors..... In their periodical inspections *no notice whatever* should be taken

by them of the religious doctrines which may be taught in any school ; and their duty should be strictly confined to ascertaining whether the secular knowledge conveyed is such as to entitle it to consideration of the distribution of the sum which will be applied to grants-in-aid." Or again, in Paragraph 84 we find :—" Considerable misapprehension appears to exist as to our views with respect to religious instruction in Government institutions... These institutions were founded for the benefit of the population of India ; and in order to effect their object it was, and is, indispensable that the education conveyed in them should be exclusively secular. The Bible is, we understand, placed in the libraries of the colleges and schools and the pupils are able freely to consult it. This is as it should be ; and, moreover, we have no desire to prevent or discourage any explanation which the pupils may, of their own free will, ask from the masters upon the subject of the Christian religion, provided that such information be given out of school hours. Such instruction being entirely voluntary on both sides, it is necessary, in order to prevent the slightest suspicion of an intention on our part to make use of the influence of Government for the purpose of proselytism, that no notice shall be taken of it by the inspectors in their periodical visits. "

It was but natural that Government officials individually and collectively were partial to Christian missionaries and if their proselytising activities were not actively encouraged they were tolerated by Government so long as they did not prove a source of danger to the political power of the British Government in India. And therefore the Court of Directors had often to remind the Government of India of the importance of preserving absolute neutrality in religious matters. The conflagration of 1857 showed that the fears entertained by the Hon'ble Court were real and thereafter Government officers became more rigid in matters of religion and the missionary activities received a set-back. That attitude of Government officials was probably

also intensified by the growth of rationalism in Europe and its influence on the conduct of the European Professors in Government colleges, who were, not unoften, professedly agnostics.

The more aggressive group of Christian missionaries, however, would not take things lying down and a virulent campaign was soon launched against the "godless" Government institutions and their teachings. A mischievous leaflet was circulated to the members of the British Parliament and partly as a result of that agitation but chiefly on account of the desire of Lord Ripon's Government to obtain a complete survey of the educational effort, a Commission was appointed in 1882, presided over by W. W. Hunter. Neither the Government Resolution announcing the appointment of the Commission, nor any of its Recommendations indicate this origin of the Commission; an insight into it, however, is obtained by reading K. T. TELANG'S MINUTE on the Hunter Commission's Report.

In this Report the Christian missionaries caught a tartar and since then they have adjusted themselves to the new conditions and have been doing very useful work in those fields which have still not attracted Indian workers, and legitimately deserve the honour of being pioneers in those fields. In the last fifty years the missionary institutions have in a large measure fulfilled the commendable role assigned to them by the Education Commission of 1882 and have served "the great purpose of showing what private effort can accomplish and thus of inducing other agencies to come forward". They still "hold a prominent place and may always find some place in a system in which great variety is on every ground desirable."

THE REPORT OF THE EDUCATION COMMISSION OF 1882 is a big volume of about 700 pages—foolscap size—and it may not be wrong to say that the educational administration of the last fifty years has been influenced by its recommendations and discussions. It incorporates the results of an accurate and expert inquiry in

all branches of education, and one must read the whole of the Report if one would have a grasp of the Government of India's Educational Policy between 1855 and 1935.

THE PROPOSAL FOR A UNIVERSITY AT CALCUTTA made by the Bengal Council of Education in 1845, the Government Resolution of 1856 and the accompanying Report of the University Committee, in connection with the ESTABLISHMENT OF INDIAN UNIVERSITIES, and the EXCERPTS FROM THE REPORT OF THE INDIAN UNIVERSITIES COMMISSION OF 1904 are documents of academic character and may not interest the lay reader. They, however, help one to know what the Universities were in 1857 and 1902, and what they are now ; but they are chiefly useful to examine the charge that in introducing English education in India Government's chief objective was and has been to secure English-knowing subordinates. If the indictment had any basis at any time, it was rudely shaken in 1857 when the Universities were established at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras and assurance was given that proposals for Universities in other centres would be welcome.

*

*

*

In compiling this volume the difficulty has been not in choosing a document for publication but in rejecting one as unnecessary and if a reader expresses dissatisfaction at the deficiencies of this volume the compiler would admit the defect rather than justify it. A large amount of useful material is scattered over many reports and leaflets, published and unpublished, and the aim in presenting this SOURCE BOOK OF MODERN INDIAN EDUCATION is to point to that material rather than to give a full view of it.

This introduction is made descriptive so far as possible. A discussion of the opinions expressed or the policies out-lined in these documents would be antagonistic to the purpose in view, *viz.*, to help the reader to judge for himself.

POONA, 5th November, 1938.

M. R. PARANJPE

CONTENTS

Charles Grant's Observations, 1797 ...	1
The East India Company's Act of 1813, Section 43 ...	8
Raja Rammohun Roy's Address, 1823 ...	9
The Hon'ble T. B. Macaulay's Minute, 1835 ...	14
Note of the Hon'ble H. T. Princep, 1835 ...	30
Lord Bentinck's Resolution, 1835 ...	49
Letter from the General Committee of Public Instruction, 1835 ...	51
Extract from "Education of the People of India" by Charles E. Trevelyan, London, 1838 ...	54
Lord Hardinge's Resolution, 1844 ...	67
Plan of the Calcutta University—A Proposal of the Council of Education, 1845 ...	70
Educational Despatch of 1854—from the Court of Directors of the East India Company to the Governor-General of India, 1854 ...	73
Establishment of Indian Universities 1856 ...	114
Resolution of Government of India ...	120
Report of the University Committee ...	134
Educational Despatch of 1859—from the Secretary of State for India, 1859 ...	169
Education Commission of 1882 ...	202
Recommendations ...	229
K. T. Telang's Minute ...	233
D. M. Barbour's Minute ...	
Arthur Howell's Minute ...	

Indian Universities Commission, 1902

History of Universities in British India	...	...	236
Teaching Universities	...	..	244
English	...	...	246
Classical Languages of the East	...	...	250
Vernacular Languages of India	...	...	253
Need for University Examinations	...	...	256
General Scheme of Examinations	...	...	256
Matriculation	...	...	258
Private Students	...	...	259
Matriculation and Government Service	...	...	261

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The contents of the first 53 pages of this volume as well as the Educational Despatches of 1854 and 1859 are taken from a Government of India publication, *Selections from Educational Records*, Vols I and II, and the rest, excepting the chapter, "Trevelyan's Views," are excerpts from other Government of India publications, Reports etc., relating to the particular topics. The Publishers are grateful to the Secretary to the Government of India, Education Department, for permission to publish these selections.

The Publishers also consider it their duty to acknowledge that "Trevelyan's Views" is the last chapter of *Education of the People of India* by Sir C. E. Trevelyan, first published in 1838 by Messrs. Longmans Green and Co. The chapter also appears as an appendix to the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords, appointed in 1852 to inquire into the operation of the Act 3 and 4, Will. 4, C. 85, for the better government of Her Majesty's Indian Territories.

CONTENTS

Indian Universities Commission, 1902

History of Universities in British India	...	...	236
Teaching Universities	...	...	244
English	...	...	246
Classical Languages of the East	...	...	250
Vernacular Languages of India	...	...	253
Need for University Examinations	...	...	256
General Scheme of Examinations	...	...	256
Matriculation	...	...	258
Private Students	...	...	259
Matriculation and Government Service	...	...	261

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The contents of the first 53 pages of this volume as well as the Educational Despatches of 1854 and 1859 are taken from a Government of India publication, *Selections from Educational Records*, Vols I and II, and the rest, excepting the chapter, "Trevelyan's Views," are excerpts from other Government of India publications, Reports etc., relating to the particular topics. The Publishers are grateful to the Secretary to the Government of India, Education Department, for permission to publish these selections.

The Publishers also consider it their duty to acknowledge that "Trevelyan's Views" is the last chapter of *Education of the People of India* by Sir C. E. Trevelyan, first published in 1838 by Messrs. Longmans Green and Co. The chapter also appears as an appendix to the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords, appointed in 1852 to inquire into the operation of the Act 3 and 4, Will. 4, C. 85, for the better government of Her Majesty's Indian Territories.

CHARLES GRANT'S OBSERVATIONS

16-8-1797

Extracts from C. Grant's Observations on the state of society among the Asiatic subjects of Great Britain, particularly with respect to morals; and on the means of improving it. Written chiefly in the year 1792; dated August 16, 1797.¹*

We now proceed to the main object of this work, for the sake of which all the preceding topics and discussions have been brought forward,—an enquiry into the means of remedying disorders, which have become thus inveterate in the state of society among our Asiatic subjects, which destroy their happiness, and obstruct every species of improvement among them.

*

*

*

The true cure of darkness is the introduction of light. The Hindoos err, because they are ignorant; and their errors have never fairly been laid before them. The communication

* Charles Grant (1746-1823) was in 1767 sent to India in a military capacity. In 1770 he returned but again went out to India and was made a Factor there in 1773. He rapidly accumulated a large fortune and returned to England in 1790. In 1802 he entered Parliament and became Chairman of the East India Company in 1805. Grant was an energetic member of the evangelical party known as the Clapham sect, which included Zachary Macaulay, Wilberforce, etc.

1. In 1813 Grant's "Observations, etc.," was laid before the House of Commons, by whose orders it was printed. It was regarded as the ablest answer to the arguments of the anti-missionary party headed by Major Scott Waring and Sydney Smith (Dict. Nat. Biog., VIII, 379). It appears in the *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the affairs of the East India Company*, 16th August 1832. Appendix I. pp. 82-87.

of our light and knowledge to them, would prove the best remedy for their disorders ; and this remedy is proposed, from a full conviction that if judiciously and patiently applied, it would have great and happy effects upon them, effects honourable and advantageous for us.

There are two ways of making this communication : the one is, by the medium of the languages of those countries ; the other is by the medium of our own. In general when foreign teachers have proposed to instruct the inhabitants of any country, they have used the vernacular tongue of that people, for a natural and necessary reason, that they could not hope to make any other means of communication intelligible to them. This is not our case in respect of our eastern dependencies. They are our own, we have possessed them long, many Englishmen reside among the natives, our language is not unknown there, and it is practicable to diffuse it more widely. The choice therefore of either mode, lies open to us ; and we are at liberty to consider which is entitled to a preference. Upon this subject, it is not intended to pass an exclusive decision here ; the points absolutely to be contended for are, that we ought to impart our superior lights, and that this is practicable ; that it is practicable by two ways, can never be an argument why neither should be attempted. Indeed no great reason appears why either should be systematically interdicted, since particular cases may recommend even that which is generally least eligible.

The acquisition of a foreign language is, to men of cultivated minds, a matter of no great difficulty. English teachers could therefore be sooner qualified to offer instruction in the native languages, than the Indians would be prepared to receive it in ours. This method would hence come into operation more speedily than the other ; and it would also be attended with the advantage of a more careful selection of the matter of instruction. But it would be far more confined and less

which will open to them a world of new ideas, and policy alone might have impelled us, long since, to put it into their hands.

*

*

*

It would be extremely easy for Government to establish, at a moderate expense, in various parts of Provinces, places of gratuitous instruction in reading and writing English: multitudes, especially of the young, would flock to them; and the easy books used in teaching, might at the same time convey obvious truths on different subjects. The teachers should be persons of knowledge, morals and discretion; and men of this character could impart to their pupils much useful information in discourse; and to facilitate the attainment of that object, they might at first make use of the Bengalese tongue. The Hindoos would in time, become teachers of English themselves; and the employment of our language in public business, for which every political reason remains in full force, would, in the course of another generation, make it very general throughout the country. There is nothing wanting to the success of this plan, but the hearty patronage of Government. If they wish it to succeed, it can and must succeed. The introduction of English in the administration of the revenue, in judicial proceedings, and in other business of Government, wherein Persian is now used, and the establishment of free-schools for instruction in this language, would insure its diffusion over the country, for the reason already suggested, that the interest of the natives would induce them to acquire it. Neither would much confusion arise, even at first upon such a change; for there are now a great number of Portuguese and Bengalese clerks in the Provinces, who understand both the Hindostanny and English languages. To employ them in drawing up petitions to Government, or its officers, would be no additional hardship upon the poorer people, who are now assisted in that way by Persian clerks: and the opportunity afforded to others who have sufficient leisure, of learning the language of the Government.

gratuitously, would be an advantage never enjoyed under Mahomedan rulers.

With our language, much of our useful literature might, and would, in time be communicated. The art of Printing would enable us to disseminate our writings in a way the Persians never could have done, though their compositions had been as numerous as ours. Hence the Hindus would see the great use we make of reason on all subjects, and in all affairs; they also would learn to reason, they would become acquainted with the history of their own species, the past and present state of the world; their affections would gradually become interested by various engaging works, composed to recommend virtue, and to deter from vice; the general mass of their opinions would be rectified; and above all, they would see a system of principles and morals. New views of duty as rational creatures would open upon them; and that mental bondage in which they have long been holden would gradually dissolve.

To this change the true knowledge of nature would contribute; and some of our easy explanations of natural philosophy might, undoubtedly, by proper means, be made intelligible to them. Except a few Brahmins, who consider the concealment of their learning as part of their religion, the people are totally misled as to the system and phenomena of nature; and their errors in this branch of science, upon which divers important conclusions rest, may be more easily demonstrated to them, than the absurdity and falsehood of their mythological legends. From the demonstration of the true cause of eclipses, the story of Rahoo and Ketoo, the dragons, who when the sun and moon are obscured are supposed to be assaulting them, a story which has hitherto been an article of religious faith, productive of religious services among the Hindoos, would fall to the ground; the removal of one pillar would weaken the fabric of falsehood; the discovery of one palpable error, would open the mind to farther conviction; and the progressive discovery of

truths, hitherto unknown, would dissipate as many superstitious chimeras, the parents of false fears, and false hopes. Every branch of natural philosophy might in time be introduced and diffused among the Hindoos. Their understandings would then be strengthened, as well as their minds informed, and error be dispelled in proportion.

But perhaps no acquisition in natural philosophy would so effectually enlighten the mass of the people, as the introduction of the principles of mechanics, and their application to agriculture and the useful arts. Not that the Hindoos are wholly destitute of simple mechanical contrivances. Some manufactures, which depend upon patient attention and delicacy of hand, are carried to a considerable degree of perfection among them; but for a series of ages, perhaps for two thousand years, they do not appear to have made any considerable addition to the arts of life. Invention seems wholly torpid among them; in a few things, they have improved by their intercourse with Europeans, of whose immense superiority they are at length convinced; but this effect is partial, and not discernible in the bulk of the people. The scope for improvement, in this respect, is prodigious.

What great accessions of wealth would Bengal derive from a people intelligent in the principles of agriculture, skilled to make the most of soils and seasons, to improve the existing modes of culture, of pasturage, of rearing cattle, of defence against excess of drought, and of rain, and thus to meliorate the quality of all the produce of the country! All these arts are still in infancy. The husbandman of Bengal just turns up the soil with a diminutive plough, drawn by a couple of miserable cattle; and if drought parches, or the rain inundates the crop, he has no resource; he thinks he is destined to this suffering, and is far more likely to die from want, than to relieve himself by any new or extraordinary effort. Horticulture also is in its first stage: the various fruits and esculent herbs, with which

Hindostan abounds, are nearly in a state of nature ; though they are planted in inclosed gardens, little skill is employed to reclaim them. In this respect likewise, we might communicate information of material use to the comfort of life, and to the prevention of famine ! In silk, indigo, sugar, and in many other articles, what vast improvements might be effected by the introduction of machinery. The skilful application of fire, of water, and of steam, improvements which would thus immediately concern the interest of the common people, would awaken them from their torpor, and give activity to their minds. At present it is wonderful to see how entirely they resign themselves to precedent ; *custom* is the strongest law to them. *Following implicitly*, seems to be instinctive with them, in small things as well as great. The path which the first passenger has ever marked over the soft soil, is trodden so undeviatingly in all its curves, by every succeeding traveller, that when it is perfectly beaten, it has still only the width of a single track.

*

**

*

It is not asserted, that such effects would be immediate or universal ; but admitting them to be progressive, and partial only, yet how great would the change be, and how happy at length for the outward prosperity, and internal peace of society among the Hindoos ! Men would be restored to the use of their reason ; all the advantage of happy soil, climate, and situation, would be observed and improved ; the comforts and conveniences of life would be increased ; the cultivation of the mind, and rational intercourse, valued ; the people would rise in the scale of human beings ; and as they found their character, their state, and their comforts improved, they would prize more highly, the security and the happiness of a well ordered society. Such a change would correct those sad disorders which have been described, and for which no other remedy has been proposed, nor is in the nature of things to be found.

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S ACT OF 1813.*

Section 43

It shall be lawful for the Governor-General in Council to direct that out of any surplus which may remain of the rents, revenues, and profits arising from the said territorial acquisitions, after defraying the expenses of the military, civil, and commercial establishments and paying the interest of the debt, in manner hereinafter provided, a sum of not less than one lac of rupees in each year shall be set apart and applied to the revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India; and that any schools, public lectures, or other institutions for the purposes aforesaid, which shall be founded at the Presidencies of Fort William, Fort St. George, or Bombay, or in any other part of the British territories in India, in virtue of the Act shall be governed by such regulations as may from time to time be made by the said Governor-General in Council; subject nevertheless to such powers as are herein vested in the said Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India, respecting colleges and seminaries: Provided always, that all appointments to offices in such schools, lectureships and other institutions, shall be made by or under the authority of the Governments within which the same shall be situated.

RAJA RAMMOHUN ROY'S ADDRESS*

11th December 1828

To His Excellency the Right Hon'ble
William Pitt, Lord Amherst

My Lord,

Humbly reluctant as the natives of India are to obtrude upon the notice of Government the sentiments they entertain on any public measure, there are circumstances when silence would be carrying this respectful feeling to culpable excess. The present Rulers of India, coming from a distance of many thousand miles to govern a people whose language, literature, manners, customs, and ideas are almost entirely new and strange to them, cannot easily become so intimately acquainted with their real circumstances, as the natives of the country are themselves. We should therefore be guilty of a gross dereliction of duty to ourselves, and afford our Rulers just ground of complaint at our apathy, did we omit on occasions of importance like the present to supply them with such accurate information as might enable them to devise and adopt measures calculated to be beneficial to the country, and thus second by our local knowledge and experience their declared benevolent intentions for its improvement.

The establishment of a new Sangscrit school in Calcutta evinces the laudable desire of Government to improve the natives of India by education—a blessing for which they must ever be grateful; and every well wisher of the human race must

* Printed in (1) G. Trevelyan's *Education of the People of India* pp. 65-71; (2) C. H. Camerons *Address to Parliament on the duties of Great Britain in India*, etc., pp. 53-57.

be desirous that the efforts made to promote it should be guided by the most enlightened principles, so that the stream of intelligence may flow into the most useful channels.

When the Seminary of learning was proposed, we understood that the Government in England had ordered a considerable sum of money to be annually devoted to the instruction of its Indian subjects. We were filled with sanguine hopes that this sum would be laid out in employing European gentlemen of talents and education to instruct the natives of India in Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Anatomy and other useful sciences, which the nations of Europe have carried to a degree of perfection that has raised them above the inhabitants of other parts of the world.

While we looked forward with pleasing hope to the dawn of knowledge thus promised to the rising generation, our hearts were filled with mingled feelings of delight and gratitude; we already offered up thanks to Providence for inspiring the most generous and enlightened of the nations of the West with the glorious ambitions of planting in Asia the arts and sciences of modern Europe.

We now find that the Government are establishing a Sanscrit school under Hindoo Pundits to impart such knowledge as is already current in India. This seminary (similar in character to those which existed in Europe before the time of Lord Bacon) can only be expected to load the minds of youth with grammatical niceties and metaphysical distinctions of little or no practicable use to the possessors or to society. The pupils will there acquire what was known two thousand years ago, with the addition of vain and empty subtilties since produced by speculative men, such as is already commonly taught in all parts of India.

The Sangsrit language, so difficult that almost a life time is necessary for its perfect acquisition, is well known to have

been for ages a lamentable check on the diffusion of knowledge ; and the learning concealed under this almost impervious veil is far from sufficient to reward the labour of acquiring it. But if it were thought necessary to perpetuate this language for the sake of the portion of the valuable information it contains, this might be much more easily accomplished by other means than the establishment of a new Sangscrit College ; for there have been always and are now numerous professors of Sangscrit in the different parts of the country, engaged in teaching this language as well as the other branches of literature which are to be the object of the new Seminary. Therefore their more diligent cultivation, if desirable, would be effectually promoted by holding out premiums and granting certain allowances to those most eminent Professors, who have already undertaken on their own account to teach them, and would by such reward be stimulated to still greater exertions.

From these considerations, as the sum set apart for the instruction of the Natives of India was intended by the Government in England, for the improvements of its Indian subjects, I beg leave to state, with due deference to your Lordship's exalted situation, that if the plan now adopted be followed, it will completely defeat the object proposed ; since no improvement can be expected from inducing young men to consume a dozen of years of the most valuable period of their lives in acquiring the niceties of the Byakaran or Sangscrit grammar. For instance, in learning to discuss such points as the following :— '*Khad*' signifying to eat, '*Khaduti*,' he or she or it eats. Query, whether does the word '*Khaduti*,' taken as a whole, convey the meaning *he*, *she*, or *it eats*, or are separate parts of this meaning conveyed by distinct portions of the word ? As if in the English language it were asked, how much meaning is there in the *eat*, how much in the *s* ? and is the whole meaning of the word conveyed by those two portions of it distinctly, or by them taken jointly ?

Neither can much improvement arise from such speculations as the following, which are the themes suggested by the Vedant :—" In what manner is the soul absorbed into the deity ? What relation does it bear to the divine essence ? " Nor will youths fitted to be better members of society by the Vedantic doctrines, which teach them to believe that all visible things have no real existence ; that as father, brother, etc., have no actual entirety, they consequently deserve no real affection, and therefore the sooner we escape from them and leave the world the better. Again, no essential benefit can be derived by the student of Meemangsa from knowing what it is that makes the killer of a goat sinless on pronouncing certain passages of the Vedas, and what is the real nature and operative influence of passages of Ved, etc.

Again the student of Nyaya Shastra cannot be said to have improved his mind after he has learned from it into how many ideal classes the objects in the Universe are divided, and what speculative relation the soul bears to the body, the body to the soul, the eye to the ear, etc.

In order to enable your Lordship to appreciate the utility of encouraging such imaginary learning as above characterised, I beg your Lordship will be pleased to compare the state of science and literature in Europe before the time of Lord Bacon, with the progress of knowledge made since he wrote.

If it had been intended to keep the British nation in ignorance of real knowledge the Baconian philosophy would not have been allowed to displace the system of the schoolmen, which was the best calculated to perpetuate ignorance. In the same manner the Sangscrit system of education would be the best calculated to keep this country in darkness, if such had been the policy of the British Legislature. But as the improvement of the native population is the object of Government it will only promote a more liberal and enlightened system

of instruction, embracing mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry and anatomy, with other useful sciences which may be accomplished with the sum proposed by employing a few gentlemen of talents and learning, educated in Europe, and providing a college furnished with the necessary books, instruments and other apparatus.

In representing this subject to your Lordship I conceive myself discharging a solemn duty which I owe to my countrymen and also to that enlightened Sovereign and Legislature which have extended their benevolent cares to this distant land actuated by a desire to improve its inhabitants and I therefore humbly trust you will excuse the liberty I have taken in thus expressing my sentiments to your Lordship.

I have etc.,

CALCUTTA ;
The 11th December 1823.

RAMMOHUN ROY

raging learned natives of Egypt," would any body infer that he meant the youth of his Pachalik to give years to the study of hieroglyphics, to search into all the doctrines disguised under the fable of Osiris, and to ascertain with all possible accuracy the ritual with which cats and onions were anciently adored? Would he be justly charged with inconsistency if, instead of employing his young subjects in decyphering obelisks, he were to order them to be instructed in the English and French languages, and in all the sciences to which those languages are the chief keys?

The words on which the supporters of the old system rely do not bear them out, and other words follow which seem to be quite decisive on the other side. This lakh of rupees is set apart not only for "reviving literature in India," the phrase on which their whole interpretation is founded, but also "for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories"—words which are alone sufficient to authorise all the changes for which I contend.

If the Council agree in my construction no legislative act will be necessary. If they differ from me, I will propose a short act rescinding that clause of the Charter of 1813 from which the difficulty arises.

The argument which I have been considering affects only the form of proceeding. But the admirers of the Oriental system of education have used another argument, which, if we admit it to be valid, is decisive against all change. They conceive that the public faith is pledged to the present system and that to alter the appropriation of any of the funds which have hitherto been spent in encouraging the study of Arabic and Sanscrit would be downright spoliation. It is not easy to understand by what process of reasoning they can have arrived at this conclusion. The grants which are made from the public purse for the encourage-

ment of literature differ in no respect from the grants which are made from the same purse for other objects of real or supposed utility. We found a sanitarium on a spot which we suppose to be healthy. Do we thereby pledge ourselves to keep a sanitarium there if the result should not answer our expectations? We commence the erection of a pier. Is it a violation of the public faith to stop the works, if we afterwards see reason to believe that the building will be useless? The rights of property are undoubtedly sacred. But nothing endangers those rights so much as the practice, now unhappily too common, of attributing them to things to which they do not belong. Those who would impart to abuses the sanctity of property are in truth imparting to the institution of property the unpopularity and the fragility of abuses. If the Government has given to any person a formal assurance — nay, if the Government has excited in any person's mind a reasonable expectation — that he shall receive a certain income as a teacher or a learner of Sanscrit or Arabic, I would respect that person's pecuniary interests. I would rather err on the side of liberality to individuals than suffer the public faith to be called in question. But to talk of a Government pledging itself to teach certain languages and certain sciences, though those languages may become useless, though those sciences may be exploded, seems to me quite unmeaning. There is not a single word in any public instrument from which it can be inferred that the Indian Government ever intended to give any pledge on this subject, or ever considered the destination of these funds as unalterably fixed. But, had it been otherwise, I should have denied the competence of our predecessors to bind us by any pledge on such a subject. Suppose that a Government had in the last century enacted in the most solemn manner that all its subjects should, to the end of time, be inoculated for the small-pox, would that Government be bound to persist in the practice after Jenner's discovery? These promises of which nobody claims the performance and from which nobody can grant a release, these vested rights

which vest in nobody, this property without proprietors, this robbery which makes nobody poorer, may be comprehended by persons of higher faculties than mine. I consider this plea merely as set form of words, regularly used both in England and in India, in defence of every abuse for which no other plea can be set up.

I hold this lakh of rupees to be quite at the disposal of the Governor-General in Council for the purpose of promoting learning in India in any way which may be thought most advisable. I hold His Lordship to be quite as free to direct that it shall no longer be employed in encouraging Arabic and Sanscrit, as he is to direct that the reward for killing tigers in Mysore shall be diminished or that no more public money shall be expended on the chaunting at the cathedral.

We now come to the gist of the matter. We have a fund to be employed as Government shall direct for the intellectual improvement of the people of this country. The simple question is, what is the most useful way of employing it?

All parties seem to be agreed on one point, that the dialects commonly spoken among the natives of this part of India contain neither literary nor scientific information, and are moreover so poor and rude that, until they are enriched from some other quarter, it will not be easy to translate any valuable work into them. It seems to be admitted on all sides, that the intellectual improvement of those classes of the people who have the means of pursuing higher studies can at present be effected only by means of some language not vernacular amongst them.

What then shall that language be? One-half of the committee maintain that it should be the English. The other half strongly recommend the Arabic and Sanscrit. The whole question seems to me to be—which language is the best worth knowing?

I have no knowledge of either Sanscrit or Arabic. But I have done what I could to form a correct estimate of their value: I have read translations of the most celebrated Arabic and Sanscrit works. I have conversed, both here and at home, with men distinguished by their proficiency in the Eastern tongues. I am quite ready to take the oriental learning at the valuation of the orientalist themselves. I have never found one among them who could deny that a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia. The intrinsic superiority of the Western literature is indeed fully admitted by those members of the committee who support the Oriental plan of education.

It will hardly be disputed, I suppose, that the department of literature in which the Eastern writers stand highest is poetry. And I certainly never met with any orientalist who ventured to maintain that the Arabic and Sanscrit poetry could be compared to that of the great European nations. But when we pass from works of imagination to works in which facts are recorded and general principles investigated, the superiority of the Europeans becomes absolutely immeasurable. It is I believe, no exaggeration to say that all the historical information which has been collected from all the books written in the Sanscrit language is less valuable than what may be found in the most paltry abridgments used at preparatory schools in England. In every branch of physical or moral philosophy, the relative position of the two nations is nearly the same.

considered merely as narratives, have seldom been surpassed, and which, considered as vehicles of ethical and political instruction, have never been equalled,—with just and lively representations of human life and human nature,—with the most profound speculations on metaphysics, morals, government, jurisprudence, trade,—with full and correct information respecting every experimental science which tends to preserve the health, to increase the comfort, or to expand the intellect of man. Whoever knows that language has ready access to all the vast intellectual wealth which all the wisest nations of the earth have created and hoarded in the course of ninety generations. It may safely be said that the literature now extant in that language is of greater value than all the literature which three hundred years ago was extant in all the languages of the world together. Nor is this all. In India, English is the language spoken by the ruling class. It is spoken by the higher class of natives at the seats of Government. It is likely to become the language of commerce throughout the seas of the East. It is the language of two great European communities which are rising, the one in the south of Africa, the other in Australasia,—communities which are every year becoming more important and more closely connected with our Indian empire. Whether we look at the intrinsic value of our literature, or at the particular situation of this country, we shall see the strongest reason to think that, of all foreign tongues, the English tongue is that which would be the most useful to our native subjects.

The question now before us is simply whether, when it is in our power to teach this language, we shall teach languages in which, by universal confession, there are no books on any subject which deserve to be compared to our own, whether, when we can teach European science, we shall teach systems which, by universal confession, wherever they differ from those of Europe differ for the worse, and whether, when we can patronize sound philosophy and true history, we shall countenance,

at the public expense, medical doctrines which would disgrace an English farrier, astronomy which would move laughter in girls at an English boarding school, history abounding with kings thirty feet high and reigns thirty thousand years long, and geography made of seas of treacle and seas of butter.

We are not without experience to guide us. History furnishes several analogous cases, and they all teach the same lesson. There are, in modern times, to go no further, two memorable instances of a great impulse given to the mind of a whole society, of prejudices overthrown, of knowledge diffused, of taste purified, of arts and sciences planted in countries which had recently been ignorant and barbarous.

The first instance to which I refer is the great revival of letters among the Western nations at the close of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century. At that time almost everything that was worth reading was contained in the writings of the ancient Greeks and Romans. Had our ancestors acted as the Committee of Public Instruction has hitherto acted,—had they neglected the language of Thucydides and Plato, and the language of Cicero and Tacitus, had they confined their attention to the old dialects of our own island, had they printed nothing and taught nothing at the universities but chronicles in Anglo-Saxon and romances in Norman French,—would England ever have been what she now is? What the Greek and Latin were to the contemporaries of More and Ascham, our tongue is to the people of India. The literature of England is now more valuable than that of classical antiquity. I doubt whether the Sanscrit literature be as valuable as that of our Saxon and Norman progenitors. In some departments—in history for example—I am certain that it is much less so.

Another instance may be said to be still before our eyes. Within the last hundred and twenty years, a nation which had previously been in a state as barbarous as that in which our ancestors were before the Crusades has gradually emerged from

the ignorance in which it was sunk and has taken its place among civilised communities. I speak of Russia. There is now in that country a large educated class abounding with persons fit to serve the State in the highest functions, and in no wise inferior to the most accomplished men who adorn the best circles of Paris and London. There is reason to hope that this vast empire which, in the time of our grand-fathers, was probably behind the Punjab, may in the time of our grand-children, be pressing close on France and Britain in the career of improvement. And how was this change effected? Not by flattering national prejudices; not by feeding the mind of the young Muscovite with the old women's stories which his rude fathers had believed; not by filling his head with lying legends about St. Nicholas; not by encouraging him to study the great question, whether the world was or was not created on the 13th of September; not by calling him "a learned native" when he had mastered all these points of knowledge; but by teaching him those foreign languages in which the greatest mass of information had been laid up, and thus putting all that information within his reach. The languages of western Europe civilised Russia. I cannot doubt that they will do for the Hindoo what they have done for the Tartar.

And what are the arguments against that course which seems to be alike recommended by theory and by experience? It is said that we ought to secure the co-operation of the native public, and that we can do this only by teaching Sanscrit and Arabic.

I can by no means admit that, when a nation of high intellectual attainments undertakes to superintend the education of a nation comparatively ignorant, the learners are absolutely to prescribe the course which is to be taken by the teachers. It is not necessary however to say anything on this subject. For it is proved by unanswerable evidence, that we are not at present securing the co-operation of the natives. It would be

bad enough to consult their intellectual taste at the expense of their intellectual health. But we are consulting neither. We are withholding from them the learning which is palatable to them. We are forcing on them the mock learning which they nauseate.

This is proved by the fact that we are forced to pay our Arabic and Sanscrit students while those who learn English are willing to pay us. All the declamations in the world about the love and reverence of the natives for their sacred dialects will never, in the mind of any impartial person, outweigh this undisputed fact, that we cannot find in all our vast empire a single student who will let us teach him those dialects, unless we will pay him.

I have now before me the accounts of the Mudrassa for one month, the month of December, 1833. The Arabic students appear to have been seventy-seven in number. All receive stipends from the public. The whole amount paid to them is above 500 rupees a month. On other side of the account stands the following item :

Deduct amount realized from the out-students of English for the months of May, June, and July last—103 rupees.

to pay people to learn Sanscrit and Arabic? Evidently because it is universally felt that the Sanscrit and Arabic are languages the knowledge of which does not compensate for the trouble of acquiring them. On all such subjects the state of the market is the decisive test.

Other evidence is not wanting, if other evidence were required. A petition was presented last year to the committee by several ex-students of the Sanscrit College. The petitioners stated that they had made themselves acquainted with Hindoo Literature and Science, that they had received certificates of proficiency. And what is the fruit of all this? "Notwithstanding such testimonials," they say, "we have but little prospect of bettering our condition without the kind assistance of your honourable committee, the indifference with which we are generally looked upon by our countrymen leaving no hope of encouragement and assistance from them." They therefore beg that they may be recommended to the Governor-General for places under the Government—not places of high dignity or emolument, but such as may just enable them to exist. "We want means," they say, "for a decent living, and for our progressive improvement, which, however, we cannot obtain without the assistance of Government, by whom we have been educated and maintained from childhood." They conclude by representing very pathetically that they are sure that it was never the intention of Government, after behaving so liberally to them during their education, to abandon them to destitution and neglect.

I have been used to see petitions to Government for compensation. All those petitions, even the most unreasonable of them, proceeded on the supposition that some loss had been sustained, that some wrong had been inflicted. These are surely the first petitioners who ever demanded compensation for having been educated gratis, for having been supported by the public during twelve years, and then sent forth into the world well furnished with literature and science. They repre-

sent their education as an injury which gives them a claim on the Government for redress, as an injury for which the stipends paid to them during the infliction were a very inadequate compensation. And I doubt not that they are in the right. They have wasted the best years of life in learning what procures for them neither bread nor respect. Surely we might with advantage have saved the cost of making these persons useless and miserable. Surely, men may be brought up to be burdens to the public and objects of contempt to their neighbours at a somewhat smaller charge to the State. But such is our policy. We do not even stand neuter in the contest between truth and falsehood. We are not content to leave the natives to the influence of their own hereditary prejudices. To the natural difficulties which obstruct the progress of sound science in the East, we add great difficulties of our own making. Bounties and premiums, such as ought not to be given even for the propagation of truth, we lavish on false texts and false philosophy.

There is yet another fact which is alone sufficient to prove that the feeling of the native public, when left to itself, is not such as the supporters of the old system represent it to be. The committee have thought fit to lay out above a lakh of rupees in printing Arabic and Sanscrit books. Those books find no purchasers. It is very rarely that a single copy is disposed of. Twenty-three thousand volumes, most of them folios and quartos, fill the libraries or rather the lumber-rooms of this body. The committee contrive to get rid of some portion of their vast stock of oriental literature by giving books away. But they cannot give so fast as they print. About twenty thousand rupees a year are spent in adding fresh masses of waste paper to a hoard which, one should think, is already sufficiently ample. During the last three years about sixty thousand rupees have been expended in this manner. The sale of Arabic and Sanscrit books during those three years has not yielded quite one thousand rupees. In the meantime, the School Book Society is selling seven or eight thousand English volumes every year, and not only pays the expenses of printing but realizes a profit of twenty per cent. on its outlay.

The fact that the Hindoo law is to be learned chiefly from Sanscrit books, and the Mahometan law from Arabic books, has been much insisted on, but seems not to bear at all on the question. We are commanded by Parliament to ascertain and digest the laws of India. The assistance of a Law Commission has been given to us for that purpose. As soon as the Code is promulgated the Shasters and the Hedaya will be useless to a Moonsiff or a Sudder Ameen. I hope and trust that, before the boys who are now entering at the Mudrassa and the Sanscrit College have completed their studies, this great work will be finished. It would be manifestly absurd to educate the rising generation with a view to a state of things which we mean to alter before they reach manhood.

But there is yet another argument which seems even more untenable. It is said that the Sanscrit and the Arabic are the languages in which the sacred books of a hundred millions of people are written, and that they are on that account entitled to peculiar encouragement. Assuredly it is the duty of the British Government in India to be not only tolerant but neutral on all religious questions. But to encourage the study of a literature, admitted to be of small intrinsic value, only because that literature inculcates the most serious errors on the most important subjects, is a course hardly reconcilable with reason, with morality, or even with that very neutrality which ought, as we all agree, to be sacredly preserved. It is confessed that a language is barren of useful knowledge. We are to teach it because it is fruitful of monstrous superstitions. We are to teach false history, false astronomy, false medicine, because we find them in company with a false religion. We abstain, and I trust shall always abstain, from giving any public encouragement to those who are engaged in the work of converting the natives to Christianity. And while we act thus, can we reasonably or decently bribe men, out of the revenues of the State, to waste their youth in learning how they are to purify themselves after touching an ass or what texts of the Vedas they are to repeat to expiate the crime of killing a goat?

It is taken for granted by the advocates of Oriental learning that no native of this country can possibly attain more than a mere smattering of English. They do not attempt to prove this. But they perpetually insinuate it. They designate the education which their opponents recommend as a mere spelling-book education. They assume it as undeniable that the question is between a profound knowledge of Hindoo and Arabian literature and science on the one side, and superficial knowledge of the rudiments of English on the other. This is not merely an assumption, but an assumption contrary to all reason and experience. We know that foreigners of all nations do learn our

language sufficiently to have access to all the most abstruse knowledge which it contains sufficiently to relish even the more delicate shades of our most idiomatic writers. There are in this very town natives who are quite competent to discuss political or scientific questions with fluency and precision in the English language. I have heard the very question on which I am now writing discussed by native gentlemen with a liberality and an intelligence which would do credit to any member of the Committee of Public Instruction. Indeed it is unusual to find even in the literary circles of the Continent, any foreigner who can express himself in English with so much facility and correctness as we find in many Hindoos. Nobody, I suppose, will contend that English is so difficult to a Hindoo as Greek to an Englishman. Yet an intelligent English youth, in a much smaller number of years than our unfortunate pupils pass at the Sanscrit College, becomes able to read, to enjoy, and even to imitate not unhappily the compositions of the best Greek authors. Less than half the time which enables an English youth to read Herodotus and Sophocles ought to enable a Hindoo to read Hume and Milton."

To sum up what I have said. I think it clear that we are not fettered by the Act of Parliament of 1813, that we are not fettered by any pledge expressed or implied, that we are free to employ our funds as we choose, that we ought to employ them in teaching what is best worth knowing, that English is better worth knowing than Sanscrit or Arabic, that the natives are desirous to be taught English, and are not desirous to be taught Sanscrit or Arabic, that neither as the languages of law nor as the languages of religion have the Sanscrit and Arabic any peculiar claim to our encouragement, that it is possible to make natives of this country thoroughly good English scholars, and that to this end our efforts ought to be directed.

* In 1836 Mr. Macaulay himself examined the students of the Hindoo College.

In one point I fully agree with the gentlemen to whose general views I am opposed. I feel with them that it is impossible for us, with our limited means, to attempt to educate the body of the people. We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern—a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect. To that class we may leave it to refine the vernacular dialects of the country, to enrich those dialects with terms of science borrowed from the Western nomenclature, and to render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population.

I would strictly respect all existing interests. I would deal even generously with all individuals who have had fair reason to expect a pecuniary provision. But I would strike at the root of the bad system which has hitherto been fostered by us. I would at once stop the printing of Arabic and Sanskrit books. I would abolish the Mudrassa and the Sanskrit College at Calcutta. Benares is the great seat of Brahminical learning; Delhi of Arabic learning. If we retain the Sanskrit College at Benares and Mahometan College at Delhi we do enough and much more than enough in my opinion, for the Eastern languages. If the Benares and Delhi Colleges should be retained, I would at least recommend that no stipends shall be given to any students who may hereafter repair thither, but that the people shall be left to make their own choice between the rival systems of education without being bribed by us to learn what they have no desire to know. The funds which would thus be placed at our disposal would enable us to give larger encouragement to the Hindoo College at Calcutta, and establish in the principal cities throughout the Presidencies of Fort William and Agra schools in which the English language might be well and thoroughly taught.

with the greatest zeal and alacrity. If, on the other hand, it be the opinion of the Government that the present system ought to remain unchanged, I beg that I may be permitted to retire from the chair of the committee. I feel that I could not be of the smallest use there. I feel also that I should be lending my countenance to what I firmly believe to be a mere delusion. I believe that the present system tends not to accelerate the progress of truth but to delay the natural death of expiring errors. I conceive that we have at present no right to the respectable name of a Board of Public Instruction. We are a board for wasting the public money, for printing books which are of less value than the paper on which they are printed was while it was blank,—for giving artificial encouragement to absurd history, absurd metaphysics, absurd physics, absurd theology,—for raising up a breed of scholars who find their scholarship an incumbrance and blemish, who live on the public while they are receiving their education, and whose education is so utterly useless to them that, when they have received it, they must either starve or live on the public all the rest of their lives. Entertaining these opinions, I am naturally desirous to decline all share in the responsibility of a body which, unless it alters its whole mode of proceedings, I must consider, not merely as useless, but as positively noxious.

2nd February 1835.

T. B. MACAULAY.

*

*

*

I give my entire concurrence to the sentiments expressed in this Minute.

W. C. BENTINCK.

NOTE OF THE HON'BLE H. T. PRINSEP

15th February, 1835.

*

--

*

It seems to me that there are some points touched upon in the Minute of the Hon'ble Mr. Macaulay that require to be set right by an explanation of the facts or by more clearly stating the views and principles against which the arguments of the minute are directed where these appear to have been misunderstood. For as the question before the Government is of the first importance and propositions to which it leads such as if any step be taken hastily and without a thorough comprehension of the subject in its different bearings the Government may be committed irretrievably to measures hateful and injurious to the mass of the people under its sway such as it might repent afterwards when too late,—it behoves every one that can contribute anything towards clearing it of fallacies or further elucidating any of the material points to bring forward what he may have to say before rather than after the Government's determination is taken. My note will be short for I propose merely to point out where in the minute before Government the opposite view has not been fully stated or where the information built upon is incomplete or incorrect. It is not my purpose to make a laboured advocacy of the cause of Oriental literature; for neither my pursuits, inclinations nor acquaintance with the subject qualify me for such a task.

First in respect to the legal question.

It is submitted that the Act 53 Geo. III must be construed with special reference to the intention of the Legislature of *that*

day. So constructed there cannot be a doubt in the mind of any person that by "the revival and promotion of literature and the encouragement of *learned natives*," the legislature* *did not* mean to refer to any other literature than native literature nor to any other learned natives than such as were eminent by their proficiency in that literature. These were the persons *then* intended to be produced and encouraged and it is surely forcing the words out of their natural construction when it is argued that the revival of native literature can best be effected by abolishing all institutions for teaching the literature that then existed and that had existed for ages before and by communicating instruction only in English.

With respect to the analogy to the position of the Pasha of Egypt there can be no doubt that if he were to talk of *reviving* and promoting literature in that country his meaning would be the literature and language *last* existing in Egypt, *viz.*, that borrowed from Arabia and accordingly we do see him cultivating and reviving that and teaching medicine and other sciences in that. The example is worthy of imitation. There is no talk there of reviving the mummy literature of Osiris nor in India of going beyond what we found prevailing throughout but languishing for want of encouragement.

With respect to rescinding any provisions of the Charter act of 1813 by a legislative Act of the Indian Government I have before argued that question and it cannot be necessary to revert to it.

The next point is that the Institutions established for communicating instruction in Arabic and Sanskrit are endowments to which funds have been permanently and irrevocably

* On the legal question I have had the opinion of Sir E. Ryan. He pronounces that there is not the shadow of a reason for Mr. Prinsep's construction.—T. B. M.

I do not feel overwhelmed by the authority.—H. T. P.

appropriated. Against this it is argued that Government cannot have pledged itself to perpetuate what may be proved noxious, that there is no *right of property* vesting in any body and that requires to be respected as such*—therefore that to take these funds from these purposes and objects and direct them to other that may be thought by the rulers of the day to be more beneficial is no spoliation or violation of any *vested interest* but on the contrary that the annual Lakh of Rupees set apart by the act of Parliament may annually be applied to such purposes as may each year be thought most conducive to the great end—the revival and encouragement of literature and the promotion and cultivation of science.

Upon this it is to be observed first that the argument as to the inviolability of endowments was never applied to any Institution paid out of the Parliamentary grant of a Lakh of Rupees. It was adduced only in behalf of the Mudrisa which was specifically an endowment made by Warren Hastings more than fifty years ago and for the support of which certain Funds, *viz*, the *land revenue* of the Mudrusa Muhal part of which is included in the Barrackpoor park were specifically assigned. At first the Institution was left to the uncontrolled management of the Moola placed by Mr. Hastings at its head. The *Muhal* however was under the Khas management of the Board of Revenue and the varying amount realized from it was placed at the Moolavee's disposal. Subsequently the Muhal was made over at a fixed Jama to the Raja of Nuddea when he was restored to his estates of which this formed a part. Except therefore that the direct management of the lands was not in the hands of the Principal and Professors and Fellows of the College this was assuredly as complete an Endowment as any of the Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge or as the Blue coat school in London can boast of. The purpose was declared to be the education of Moolavees and Kazees and the cultivation of Arabic learning,

* I have my minute to defend itself on this head.—T. B. M.

and from the day of the Institution's first establishment to this present time degrees and certificates have been granted entitling persons to assume the style and to exercise the functions of Moolavee and Kazees in like manner as degrees of Master of Arts and Doctor are conferred in Europe.

The Government exercised towards this institution the function of Waqif or Endower which are distinct and well defined in law and by the practise of the country resembling those of directing visitor but more extensive than any enjoyed by visitors in Europe. In the exercise of these powers the Government had reformed the Institution and placed it on a footing efficient for the purposes intended by the founder *before* the Parliamentary grant of 1813 was made. It was transferred to the Committee appointed to carry that act into execution not as an Institution established under it and paid from the funds appropriated therein to Education but because the Committee was deemed the fittest organ for the execution of the functions of visitor. The Mudrusa had before a separate committee which merged into the General Education Committee and therein the connexion of this latter with it. The argument therefore that the Government is free to deal with its lakh as it pleases does not touch this particular Institution—the Government proceedings and determination in respect to which must be guided by specific reference to the conditions of its establishment and to its present position. If there be anything positively noxious in the existence of a seminary of this kind that of course may be an argument for correcting what is bad or if the mischief be past correction for abolishing root and branch the irredeemable evil. But surely Government is not yet prepared to put forth a declaration that such is the light in which it regards the instruction of all its subjects of Mooslim faith—of this however more presently.

With respect to the argument that the Government cannot be pledged to perpetuate any course of instruction for that it has

created *no property* and there is no one that can pretend to possess a *vested interest*. This, in so far as it denies to collegiate institutions a right which I believe in Europe they have always stoutly asserted and hitherto maintained, is a question that may be left to be battled by the Universities in England. Nothing on earth can hope to be perpetual and property of every kind is of itself the most mutable of things. By the hand of time, by the act of God, by foreign violence or internal convulsion everything most prized and most valued may be swept away in an instant. To all those sources of ruin to *vested interests* must be added the changeful opinions of mankind and the caprices of those who rule. The Government doubtless may set up and abolish Institutions with the same facile rapidity with which it creates and abolishes offices and passes acts and Regulations. The question is one of wisdom and expediency. Is it wise and beneficial for a Government so to act as to destroy the hope that what is, and has been, will be lasting? Does not every Government on the contrary derive strength and influence from encouraging its subjects to look upon certain classes of its actions as permanent and binding upon itself and its successors? The establishment of such an Institution as the Mudrusa is most assuredly an act of this description and class—and in every part of the world when the ruling Power has made an appropriation of funds or through other means established a Seminary of the kind for education whether it to be to teach Latin and Greek or to teach English to the Catholic uneducated Irish or for any purpose of supposed utility the appropriation has been respected and held sacred by those who have followed. It is only in this country that it would be proposed not to improve and make perfect and correct errors in the Institutions already established by the liberality of those who have gone before, but upon a vague impression that the object is not beneficial wholly to *abolish* and *dissolve* them.

In behalf of the Mudrusa more claim to permanency has not been asserted than is allowed elsewhere to similar Institutions and Seminaries. Let it be dealt with as a charity school or college of England liable to fall to corruption and to need the hand of the governing power to correct its abuses and reform its practise nay even to suit it to the advancing opinions of the day. The proposition for its abolition goes a great deal further.

The minute assuming apparently the Mudrusa to be one of the Institutions supported out of the lakh of rupees appropriated by Parliament, proceeds to the question what is the most useful mode of employing that fund. It is laid down that the vernacular dialects are not fit to be made the vehicle of instruction in science or literature, the choice is therefore between English on one hand and Sanscrit and Arabic on the other—the latter are dismissed on the ground that their literature is worthless and the superiority of that of England is set forth in an animated description of the treasures of science and of intelligence it contains and of the stores of intellectual enjoyment it opens. There is no body acquainted with both literatures that will not subscribe to all that is said in the minute of the superiority of that of England but the question is not rightly stated when it is asserted to be this “whether when *it is in our power to teach this language*”—that is English—we shall teach those which contain no books of value. The whole question is—have we it in our power to teach everywhere this English and this European science? It is in doubting nay in denying this that those who take the opposite view maintain the expediency of letting the natives pursue their present course of instruction and of endeavouring to *engraft* European science thereon.

An analogy is drawn between the present state of India and that of Europe at the time of the revival of letters. The cultivation of English is likened to the study of Latin and Greek in those days and the grand results that have followed are held out as an example to be imitated hereby inculcating English in

order that a Bengalee and Hindoo literature may grow up as perfect as that we now have in England. This however is not the true analogy—Latin and Greek were to the nations of Europe what Arabic and Persian are to the Mooslims and Sanscrit to the Hindoos of the present population of Hindoostan and if a native *literature* is to be created it must be through the improvements of which these are capable. To the great body of the people of India English is as strange as Arabic was to the knights of the dark ages.¹ It is not the language of the erudite of the clergy and of men of letters as Latin always was in Europe and as Arabic and Persian are extensively in Asia.

The analogy of Russia is less convincing.* It is through communication with foreigners through imitation and translations that the Russians are building up a native literature. This is the method that is specifically advocated by those who despair of making English the language of general adoption or the vehicle for imparting a knowledge of the sciences to the millions who compose the population of India. The argument would only have weight if, in the schools and colleges of Russia, German were now or had ever been the *exclusive* organ through which the youth of that country derived instruction which it assuredly is not and never was.

But to proceed to the real arguments of the minute. It is said that in teaching Arabic and Sanscrit we are not consulting the intellectual taste of the natives but are "forcing on them the mock learning which they nauseate". If there were the slightest ground for believing that the great body of the Mooslims did

1 It cannot be more strange than Greek was to the subjects of Henry the Eighth—T. B. M.

* Not the fact. The Russian educated class has acquired all that it knows by means of English, French, German etc. From the English, French and German it is now beginning to imitate and to translate. This is exactly the course which I hope and trust that the educated class of our native subjects will follow—T. B. M.

not venerate to enthusiasm their Arabic and Persian literature,¹ or to believe that the Hindoos as a body were not partial to their Sanscrit then of course would the whole case of those who advocate the prosecution of those studies require to be thrown up. This however is a matter of fact and of opinion that cannot be conceded to either party upon mere assertion. It is necessary to examine the ground upon which so startling a proposition as that above stated is advanced and maintained.

The minute proceeds "This is proved by the fact that we are forced to pay our Arabic and Sanscrit students while those who learn English pay us.....We cannot find in all our vast empire a single student who will let us teach him those dialects unless we will pay him."

Those assertions are supported by adducing from the report upon the Mudrusa of Calcutta the circumstance that there were in December 1833 seventy-seven Arabic students on that foundation receiving in the aggregate above Rs. 500 per mensem while in three months Rs. 103 were collected by the English master from out-students who paid for his instruction in that language. The contract is dwelt upon as conclusive but a very little explanation will suffice to show that the argument is quite groundless.

There are ordinarily taught in the Mudrusa between two and three hundred youths. The Government scholarships are eighty and if the President of the Education Committee would attend the next examination of candidates for these scholarships he would see in the keenness of the competition and in the

1 Men may have a great veneration for a language and not wish to learn it. I have seen Rhadacant Deb since the last council. He tells me that no body in India studies Sanscrit profoundly without being paid to do so. Men of fortune learn a little superficially. But he assures me that to the best of his belief there is not, even at Benares, a single student of the higher Sanscrit learning who is not paid—T. B. M.

proficiency of the candidates abundant evidence that the salaried scholars are not the only persons in our Indian Empire who learn the rudiments of Persian* and Arabic literature. I am no Sanscrit scholar and never attended the examinations of that college in Calcutta nor do I pretend to much acquaintance with its constitution or with the rules under which its scholarships are given away but only the other day the Education Committee received a report of the examinations of the Sanscrit College at Benares and it cannot have escaped the President of that Committee to have observed that, although the jageers or scholarships were only 130, upwards of three hundred students pressed forward for examination.

In truth the jageers or monthly allowances given at the Mudrusa and in the Sanscrit Colleges and elsewhere are in all respects similar to the Scholarships of the Universities or to the foundation Scholars of the Public Schools of England. They are given not as inducements to study the language but as the rewards of successful study and in order to keep at the institution for the prosecution of further studies those who by their progress evince a love of science and the qualification to become learned men, Moolavees or Pundits. Most of those who enjoy these jageers are themselves the teachers of many pupils, teachers in the college to those who attend there for instruction and teachers at home in families of the better order to those who prefer that their sons shall be so instructed.

Whether it is expedient or not to give these stipendiary provisions as rewards for ardent study and to keep students longer at their education by means of them is a question that has heretofore been argued in the Committee of Public Instruction.

* I said nothing of Persian. I am assured that nothing deserving the name of a learned Arabic education is received at the Mudrusa by any unpaid student. I acknowledge my own ignorance on the subject.

T. B. M.

Something is to be said on both sides and although the Committee heretofore decided in favour of the practise it does not follow that they may not have decided wrong. But however this may be the fact that there are paid scholars on the establishment or foundation of any seminary affords no ground for assuming that none would learn if they were not paid, yet this is the argument of the minute. As well might it be assumed from the fact that there are foundation scholars at Eton and scholarships in all the Colleges of both Universities in England that no body would learn Latin and Greek if it were not for these stipendiary advantages. Be it Latin and Greek or Mathematics or Law or Arabic and Sanscrit literature, or be it English, the principle is the same. Scholarships are given and it is thought right to give them to reward and encourage the poor scholar and to lead as well through the excitement of competition as by lengthening the course of study to the attainment of higher proficiency. In the Mudrusa itself separate scholarships have been established for proficient in English in order to encourage the study of that language. If this be a conclusive argument that the study of English is nauseated because it requires to be paid for, then may it be applied to Arabic and Sanscrit and to Mathematics and to all other studies. All must participate in the reproach or it will evidently apply to none.

But the fact remains to be explained that a sum of Rs. 103 was collected in three months from out-students of English whereas nothing is shown by the accounts of the Mudrusa to have been collected from out-students of the Persian and Arabic. Everybody knows that with Moolavees and Pundits, for both profess the same principle in this respect, it is meritorious to give instruction gratis and sinful to take hire or wages from the pupil who receives it. The teacher's remuneration is always

in the way of a present and perfectly voluntary.* The English Master on the other hand who is a Christian and who has been appointed by the Committee to Mudrusa acts on quite different principles and not only deems it no sin to take payment for the lessons he gives but makes a special demand of it from all who appear to him to have the means of paying. The wonder is rather, considering that the teacher in this instance is a first rate instructor and that he gives instruction to Hindoos as well as Mooslims, that more was not realized. The fact that a sum of about Rs. 30 a month was realized when upwards of three hundred per mensem is paid from the Committee's funds to the Schoolmaster is surely no proof of violent desire for instruction in English which is inferred from it. If again the desire of this instruction were so great how comes it to have been proposed to make the learning of English compulsory in the Mudrusa and how does it happen that of all the students now in the Mudrusa there are but two who have made progress beyond the spelling book.

Undoubtedly there is a very widely spread anxiety at this time for the attainment of a certain proficiency in English. The sentiment is to be encouraged by all means as the source and forerunner of great moral improvement to those who feel its influence but there is no single member of the Education Committee who will venture to assert that this disposition has yet shown itself extensively amongst the Moosulmans.† It is the Hindoos of Calcutta, the Sirkars and their connexions and the descendants and relations of the Sirkars of former days, those

* The sum, if the accounts are rightly drawn up, is paid to the College—not directly to the master, so that the explanation is defective—T. B. M.

No, the money was levied by the Master and paid over to the College Funds. This is all I meant to state—T. B. M.

† There is no good English school for the Mussulmans: and one of our first duties is to establish one!—T. B. M.

is a most important question but seems to involve the previous one—does or does not prejudice exist? It is declared by those who take the opposite view to Mr. Macaulay that it does exist and that the prejudice is so general especially amongst the Moosulmans that there is no hope of our being able by the mere offer of instruction in English and English science to secure that it shall be received for its own sake. These persons say that the best chance of procuring that true knowledge shall ultimately prevail, is to *engraft* it upon the course of education now most esteemed and to take every means of leading the youth to the improved condition in which it is desired to place them by giving them first all they respect and admire in their fathers and then besides the further instruction we have to impart. The argument on the other side is that unless we violently assail and displace the false literature that we see held up as erudition and learning we shall by continuing instruction in it create opposition to the reception of the new. Now this argument on the very face of it seems to assume that the possessors of the old literature are necessarily opposed to the new, it seems to build upon the impossibility of reconciling the two and yet in the same breath we are told that all the world is anxiously seeking the new and attaches no value to the old.

On the other hand it is maintained that, if at this time the desire for European science and literature is extensively felt and is still on the increase, the cause of it is to be found in the manner in which the Government interfere with the work of education which was commenced and has hitherto been carried on, and in particular to the strict observance of the principle of encouraging every course of education that is followed by any extensive class of the population and doing violence to no existing feelings whether of prejudice or prepossession.

It is maintained that by following this course we bind and perpetuate no enmities but on the contrary mitigate and reconcile opinions and doctrines that seem adverse and when we

recollect that out of the philosophy of the schools the same philosophy that is the highest point of knowledge in Arabic and Sanscrit grew the very philosophy we wish to inculcate, viz. that of Bacon and Locke and Newton,* why should we despair of engrafting on the similar stock of Arabia and India a similar fruit?

With respect to the expenditure upon printing and translating in regard to which it is argued that the fact that the books of the Committee do not sell is proof conclusive that the money is thrown away and that there is no taste for the literature it was meant to encourage, I fear it must be admitted that very considerable sums have been thrown away upon works which have yielded no fruit. The translations have been the most expensive and the least profitable of these works, for they have been executed at very enormous rates of charge and in a style for the most part not popular and taking. I quite agree that the funds appropriated to revive literature ought not to be lavished on works that will not pay and that for the printing of those that will pay, there can be no need of aid from Government. But I do not admit that because we have failed to make our printing and translating a profitable speculation that therefore there is no taste for the literature. Our prices have been exorbitant and our works childish † or ill got up. This alone accounts for their not being taken off our hands and as for the fact that private Printing establishments find a profit in printing English school books they have had the extensive patronage of the Committee and of Mofusil institutions and more especially of Missionary schools and a growing Christian population to provide. Besides which the relative expense of printing in the native languages as compared with that of printing in English will of itself account for the

* Monstrous assertion!—J. E. D. Bethune.

† They are, I believe. among the most celebrated works in the Sanskrit language—T. B. M.

difference. Our books be it observed have been mostly printed at the same press which is referred to as having thrived by its printing business and it has thrived mainly at our expense. However there is not I believe in the Committee of Public Instruction a single advocate for a continuance of the printing and translating business on the footing on which it has hitherto been conducted.* It has been ruinously expensive and has yielded no return but we see establishments for printing Persian and Arabic books as thriving as the English presses and numberless books and little treatises are issued from them of which we hear nothing. The text book of the Moolavees who recently rose in insurrection is an instance in point. Although printed in Calcutta it was not heard of by Europeans until the sect broke out into rebellion.

If our translations and the books of our selection have not hit the taste of the reading classes or have been too dear for them to purchase it is a reason for discontinuing the provision of such but no proof that there is no taste for anything that might be provided. There are applications in abundance for our books as presents and we know not when one is issued how many copies are made from it at less cost even than that we ask to compensate the charge of publication. The price too paid by the Committee for native publications is the first subscription price and the Committee is always undersold by the presses which supply them books for they sell the reserved copies at a reduced price.

The minute proceeds to say that it cannot be necessary to keep up instructions in Arabic and Sanscrit because of the con-

* I rejoice to hear it. For within the last few weeks several minutes have been recorded which would have led me to form a very different opinion—T. B. M.

If we print anything we ought to print the Surya Sidhant and the books that have been proposed but I am perfectly ready to give up all printing—H. T. P.

nection of these languages with the religion of the Hindoos and Mooslims. I have never heard this reason assigned as an argument for a Christian Government's continuing to give the instruction. The circumstance has been referred to as both proving and accounting for the confirmed veneration these classes have for their respective literature and because it has sometimes been denied that the natives have any respect for their own literature which is quite inconsistent with the idea that all their religion is wrapped up in it.

It is on account of the connection of these languages with existing laws that the necessity of continuing instruction in them has been maintained. This argument is met in the minute by reference to what the *Law Commission* are *expected* to do and what the Legislature intends should be done.² Herein however is an admission that for so long as this intention is unfulfilled the motive for continuing instruction in that which is the law, exists in full force.

The nature of the instruction in English that will have to be imparted is the next point. Those opposed to the discontinuance of instruction in Sanscrit, Arabic and Persian maintain that in place of them the Committee would have to *commence* everywhere teaching the English alphabet. It cannot surely be denied that this must be the beginning. The minute dwells on the capability of the natives to attain high proficiency. This may be admitted as a result to be expected hereafter but if the teaching of English be substituted everywhere for the perfecting of youths in their present courses of education does it not follow as a necessary consequence that we shall have to substitute the teaching of the alphabet and spelling book for instruction

2 Surely it would be most unreasonable to educate a boy of fifteen with a view to fitting him for a state of things which we fully purpose to alter by the time that he is five and twenty—T. B. M.

in advanced literature? The candidates for admission into our Arabic and Sanscrit Colleges know already much of those languages and are prepared to be taught science. The students we should get for English would require to be taught to read.¹

To the recapitulation at the close of the Minute I have nothing new to object. It is admitted that we must endeavour to carry the people with us in all we seek to do for their improvement. The party whose sentiments I am endeavouring to express argue to the question what are the best, indeed to their minds the only means of doing this. Their opponents, looking to grand results to follow when all the desired improvements have been effected, pass over altogether the necessary consideration of means. Often *volo jubeo* is their policy on this great question. The abolition of the Mudrusa and Sanscrit College at Calcutta and the alteration of the character of all other institutions supported or assisted from the Public funds is their proposition but it is submitted that there are many considerations which should protect the Mudrusa at least from any present demolition. It is the only link through which the Government has at present any connection whatsoever with the instruction of the Mooslim youth of Bengal, it is not one of the passing institutions of recent establishment for the support of which funds are assigned from the Parliamentary lack of rupees but is an old established college endowed separately and efficiently performing the purposes of the endowment. If this be doubted let the fact be made the subject of enquiry, the more searching the better will the advocates of this institution be satisfied. Even though the Committee of General Instruction should come to a resolution or should be desired by Government to change altogether the principles by which it has hitherto been

1 Of course every body must begin a language at the beginning. The only question is whether we may reasonably expect in a few years to make an intelligent native youth a thoroughly good English scholar. And I do not now find that this is disputed—T. B. M.

guided in the application of the Parliamentary grant, it would by no means follow that the Mudrusa should be placed on a different footing. The Moosulman subjects of the Government are much more jealous of innovation upon their habits and their religion than the Hindoos ever were. When it was first proposed to teach them English they consulted their oracle of the day Uzeezooddeen of Dehlee as to whether it was sinful to yield to the innovation. He gave them a most sensible answer and since then not only has English and English science been extensively taught but much progress has been made in instilling correct moral principles and reconciling the sect to further improvements. Such a measure at this time as the abolition of the Mudrusa would produce alienation in this wide class of the population.....* instead of aiding would impede if it did not prevent any further improvement. To the principle of conciliation it is decidedly opposed and will universally be looked upon as touching close upon intolerance.

I have written much more than I had intended or thought would be necessary and yet feel that I have not half stated all that I have myself to urge on this important question. The cause has many advocates who also deserve to be heard before Government shall come to a final determination. There is a minute by Mr. Macnaghten about to be sent up by the Education Committee which seems entitled to much attention and I am sure that not only that gentleman but every member of the Committee would wish to be heard upon any resolution passed for abolishing the Mudrusa. In the height of the discussion as to the proper course to be followed by the Committee for promoting the improvement of the education of the country such a proposition was never brought forward by any one of those most opposed to the continuance of instruction in Arabic and Sanscrit. It is now submitted separately and it is my hope

* Original torn.

that I have shown sufficient ground to induce the Members of Government to suspend their judgment at least.....
.....¹ of investigation.

H. T. PRINSEP

Sunday, 15th February, 1835.

*

*

*

I remain (not only) * unshaken but confirmed (in all my) opinions on the general question. I may have committed a slight mistake or two as to (details) and I may have occasionally used an epithet which might with advantage (have been) softened down. But I do not retract the substance of a single proposition. I have advanced—T. B. M.

1. Original torn.

* The original is torn down the middle and the words in brackets are conjectural.

LORD BENTINCK'S RESOLUTION

7th March 1835.

On the 7th March 1835 the following Resolution* was issued :—

“The Governor-General of India in Council has attentively considered the two letters from the Secretary to the Committee of Public Instruction, dated the 21st and 22nd January last, and the papers referred to in them.

First :—His Lordship in Council is of opinion that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India; and that all the funds appropriated for the purpose of education would be best employed on English education alone.

Second :—But it is not the intention of His Lordship in Council to abolish any Colleges or School of native learning, while the native population shall appear to be inclined to avail themselves of the advantages which it affords, and His Lordship in Council directs that all the existing professors and students at all the institutions under the superintendence of the Committee shall continue to receive their stipends. But His Lordship in Council decidedly objects to the practice which has hitherto prevailed of supporting the students during the period of their education. He conceives that the only effect of such a system can be to give artificial encouragement to branches of learning which, in the natural course of things, would be superseded by more useful

* Printed in (1) Cameron's Address to Parliament, pp. 81-82 ;

(2) Madras Selections, II, 1835, pp. lxxxiii-lxxxiv.

studies; and he directs that no stipend shall be given to any student that may hereafter enter at any of these institutions; and that when any professor of Oriental learning shall vacate his situation, the Committee shall report to the Government the number and state of the class in order that the Government may be able to decide upon the expediency of appointing a successor.

Third:—It has come to the knowledge of the Governor-General in Council that a large sum has been expended by the Committee on the printing of Oriental works; His Lordship in Council directs that no portion of the funds shall hereafter be so employed.

Fourth:—His Lordship in Council directs that all the funds which these reforms will leave at the disposal of the Committee be henceforth employed in imparting to the native population a knowledge of English literature and science through the medium of the English language; and His Lordship in Council requests the Committee to submit to Government, with all expedition, a plan for the accomplishment of this purpose.

LETTER FROM THE GENERAL COMMITTEE OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

20th April, 1835.

Since my letter of the 9th instant which acknowledged their receipt the General Committee of Public Instruction has more fully considered the Instructions of the Supreme Government of the 7th ultimo, and I am directed to submit for approval of the Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council the annexed eight propositions † which have been adopted by the Committee with reference to the orders quoted and to forward at the same time the statements mentioned in the margin* with the following explanations.

2. Statement A shews the Oriental works under impression and their state of progress under the orders of Government. The Committee proposes (with reservation which will be mentioned) to suspend the further progress of these works and recommends that it be authorised to make over the unfinished copies to any societies or persons willing and competent to finish them.

3. From the recommendation is excluded the Fatwa Alamgiri. Of this voluminous and popular work of Law only about one-sixth remains to be finished. The Committee, therefore, has authorised its completion under my control in the expectation that by its sale some return of the expenditure incurred may be obtained. The Inayah and the Arabic version of Bridge's Algebra mentioned in the statement, as will be observed, are differently circumstanced. The Committee will probably have occasion to address Government separately as to these works.

† The propositions are only a formal statement of the proposals made in this letter.

* These are given on page 53.

4. As a measure of useful economy the Committee recommends the abolition of the Book Depository the necessity of which is superseded by the proposition to suspend the progress of the Oriental works under impression, and the decision to abstain from printing others. The Committee will hereafter submit the plan which it proposes as to the disposal of the books in store.

5. The General Committee is of opinion that a considerable saving may be effected by providing for the performance of the duties executed by the late Secretaries to the Benares and Calcutta Sanskrit Colleges on a more moderate scale and suggests, therefore, that no appointment for those vacant offices be at present made.

6. It is in communication with the Managing Committees on the subject and will hereafter submit the arrangement which may be deemed most expedient.

7. The Government will observe that the General Committee proposes under its late orders, to the extent of its means, to institute schools for teaching English literature and science in the principal cities and towns.

8. It is intended to commence with the populous cities of Patna and Dacca and I have opened a correspondence on the subject with the principal civil functionaries. The Committee hopes that a fund may be raised by the voluntary subscriptions of the wealthy inhabitants sufficient to erect or buy school houses; and contemplates the appropriation of about 6,000 rupees per annum from the General fund to each of these schools.

9. The General Committee is of opinion that the publication of the resolution of the Government above would have a beneficial effect in exciting in the minds of the influential classes of the community an interest in its proceedings and begs permission to publish those resolutions for general information.

Fort William:
20th April, 1835.

J. C. C. SUTHERLAND,
Secretary, G. C. P. I.

Statement (A) shows the details of Oriental works under impression on account of the Committee. Statement (B) shows by estimate the financial condition of the General Fund. The statements are here given in brief.

STATEMENT A.

Books under impression, etc.

<i>Hindustani</i> ...	Translation from the Greek of Geometry and Trigonometry. Translation of Hutton's Mathematics.
<i>Arabic</i> ...	Futtwa Alamgiri. Translations of (1) Crocker's Land Surveying, (2) Hooper's <i>Vade Macum</i> , (3) Bridge's Algebra.
<i>Persian</i> ...	Khazanatul Ilm.
<i>Sanskrit</i> ...	Maha Bharat. Sustara. Kalidasa's Naishadha. Raja Tarungini. Translation of Hooper's <i>Vade Macum</i> .

Books subscribed for.

<i>Sanskrit</i> ...	Biga Gunita. Vivada Chintamuni.
---------------------	---------------------------------

Translation of Hutton's Geometry.

Total expenditure incurred	...	...	Rs. 29,463
Liabilities for printing	...	...	„ 15,104
Liabilities for subscriptions	...	...	„ 1,800
			<hr/>
Total	...	Rs. 46,367	

STATEMENT B.

Financial estimate for 1835.

	Authorised appropriation	Charge in January, 1835	Charge in coming year
Instructions, etc., ...	Rs. 1,74,954	Rs. 1,65,657	Rs. 1,46,133
Committee's office ...	„ 12,000	„ 12,000	„ 14,500
Oriental publications ...	„ 15,000	„ 7,800	...
Subscription and purchase of books ...	„ 8,000	„ 11,422	„ 15,000
Contingencies ...	...	„ 1,300	„ 1,500
		<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	Rs. 2,09,954	1,98,179	1,77,138

EXTRACT FROM "EDUCATION OF THE PEOPLE
OF INDIA", BY CHARLES E. TREVELYAN

London, 1838.

[Sir Charles Edward Trevelyan was a member of the Bengal Civil Service. He spent twelve years in India, last six of which he spent in Calcutta when he was also a member of the General Committee of Public Instruction.. In 1838 he published a volume " Education of the People of India " and the following is the last chapter of the book] ..

There can be no dispute as to what our duty as the rulers of India requires us to do. But it has been said, and may be said again, that whatever our duty may be, it is not our policy: to enlighten the natives of India; that the sooner they grow to man's estate, the sooner they will be able to do without us; and that by giving them knowledge, we are giving them power, of which they will make the first use against ourselves.

If our interest and our duty were really opposed to each other, every good man, every honest Englishman, would know which to prefer. Our national experience has given us too deep a sense of the true ends of Government, to allow us to think of carrying on the administration of India except for the benefit of the people of India. A nation which made so great a sacrifice to redeem a few hundred thousand negroes from slavery, would shudder at the idea of keeping a hundred millions of Indians in the bondage of ignorance, with all its frightful consequences, by means of a political system supported by the revenue taken from the Indians themselves. Whether we govern India ten or thousand years, we will do our duty by it: we will look, not to the probable duration of our trust, but to the satisfactory discharge of it, so long as it shall please God to continue it to us.

Happily, however, we are not on this occasion called upon to make any effort of disinterested magnanimity. Interest and duty are never really separated in the affairs of nations, any more than they are in those of individuals; and in this case they are indissolubly united, as a very slight examination will suffice to show.

The Arabian or Mahommedan system is based on the exercise of power and indulgence of passion. Pride, ambition, the love of rule, and of sensual enjoyment, are called in to the aid of religion. The earth is the inheritance of the Faithful; all besides are infidel usurpers, with whom no measures are to be kept, except what policy may require. Universal dominion belongs to the Mahommedans by the Divine right. Their religion obliges them to establish their predominance by the sword; and those who refuse to conform are to be kept in a state of slavish subjection. The Hindoo system, although less fierce and aggressive than the Mahommedan, is still more exclusive: all who are not Hindus are impure outcasts, fit only for the most degraded employments; and, of course, utterly disqualified for the duties of government, which are reserved for the military, under the guidance of the priestly caste. Such is the political tendency of the Arabic and Sanskrit systems of learning. Happily for us, these principles exist in their full force only in books written in difficult languages, and in the minds of a few learned men; and they are very faintly reflected in the feelings and opinions of the body of the people. But what will be thought of that plan of national education which would revive them and make them popular; would be perpetually reminding the Mahommedans that we are infidel usurpers of some of the fairest realms of the Faithful, and the Hindus, that we are unclean beasts, with whom it is a sin and a shame to have any friendly intercourse. Our bitterest enemies could not desire more than that we should propagate systems of learnings which excite the strongest feelings of human nature against ourselves.

The spirit of English literature, on the other hand, cannot but be favourable to the English connection. Familiarly acquainted with us by means of literature, the Indian youth almost cease to regard us as foreigners. They speak of our great men with the same enthusiasm as we do. Educated in the same way, interested in the same objects, engaged in the same pursuits with ourselves, they become more English than Hindu, just as the Roman provincials became more Roman than Gauls or Italians. What is it that makes us what we are, except living and conversing with English people, and imbibing English thoughts and habits of mind? They do so too: they daily converse with the best and wisest Englishmen through the medium of their works; and form, perhaps, a higher idea of our nation than if their intercourse with it were of a more personal kind. Admitted behind the scenes, they become acquainted with the principles which guide our proceedings; they see how sincerely we study the benefit of India in the measures of our administration; and from violent opponents, or sullen conformists, they are converted into zealous and intelligent co-operators with us. They learn to make a proper use of the freedom of discussion which exists under our government, by observing how we use it ourselves; and they cease to think of violent remedies, because they are convinced that there is no indisposition on our part to satisfy every real want of the country. Dishonest and bad rulers alone derive any advantage from the ignorance of their subjects. As long as we study the benefit of India in our measures, the confidence and affection of the people will increase in proportion to their knowledge of us.

But this is not all. There is a principle in human nature which impels all mankind to aim at improving their condition; every individual has his plan of happiness; every community has its ideas of securing the national honour and prosperity. This powerful and universal principle, in some shape or other, is in a state of constant activity; and if it be not enlisted on our side,

it must be arrayed against us. As long as the natives are left to brood over their former independence, their sole specific for improving their condition is, the immediate and total expulsion of the English. A native patriot of the old school has no notion of anything beyond this; his attention has never been called to any other mode of restoring the dignity and prosperity of his country. It is only by the infusion of European ideas, that a new direction can be given to the national views. The young men, brought up at our seminaries, turn with contempt from the barbarous despotisms under which their ancestors groaned, to the prospect of improving their national institutions on the English model. Instead of regarding us with dislike, they court our society, and look upon us as their natural protectors and benefactors: the summit of their ambition is, to resemble us; and, under our auspices, they hope to elevate the character of their countrymen, and to prepare them by gradual steps for the enjoyment of a well-regulated and therefore a secure and a happy independence. So far from having the idea of driving the English into the sea uppermost in their minds, they have no notion of any improvement but such as rivets their connection with the English, and makes them dependent on English protection and instruction. In the re-establishment of the old native governments they see only the destruction of their most cherished hopes, and a state of great personal insecurity for themselves.

The existing connection between two such distant countries as England and India, cannot, in the nature of things, be permanent; no effort of policy can prevent the natives from ultimately regaining their independence. But there are two ways of arriving at this point. One of these is, through the medium of revolution; and the other, through that of reform. In one, the forward movement is sudden and violent; in the other, it is gradual and peaceable. One must end in a complete alienation of mind and separation of interests between ourselves and the

political institutions to suit the increased intelligence of the people; and their capacity for self-government.

The change will thus be peaceably and gradually effected; there will be no struggle, no mutual exasperation; the natives will have independence, after first learning how to make a good use of it; we shall exchange profitable subjects for still more-profitable allies. The present administrative connection benefits families, but a strict commercial union between the first manufacturing and the first producing country in the world, would be a solid foundation of strength and prosperity to our whole nation. If this course be adopted, there will, properly speaking, be no separation. A precarious and temporary relation will almost imperceptibly pass into another far more durable and beneficial. Trained by us to happiness and independence, and endowed with our learning and our political institutions, India will remain the proudest monument of British benevolence; and we shall long continue to reap, in the affectionate attachment of the people, and in a great commercial intercourse with their splendid country*, the fruit of that liberal and enlightened policy which suggested to us this line of conduct.

In following this course we would be trying no new experiment. The Romans at once civilised the nations of Europe, and attached them to their rule by Romanising them; or, in other words, by educating them in the Roman literature and arts, and teaching them to emulate their conquerors instead of opposing

* The present trade with India can give no idea of what it is capable of becoming; the productive powers of the country are immense; the population of British India alone, without including the native States, is more than three times that of all the rest of the British Empire. By governing well, and promoting to the utmost of our power the growth of wealth, intelligence, and enterprise in its vast population, we shall be able to make India a source of wealth and strength to our nation in time to come, with which nothing in our past history furnishes any parallel.

them. Acquisitions made by superiority in war, were consolidated by superiority in the arts of peace; and the remembrance of the original violence was lost in that of the benefits which resulted from it. The provincials of Italy, Spain, Africa and Gaul, having no ambition except to imitate the Romans, and to share their privileges with them, remained to the last faithful subjects of the empire; and the union was at last dissolved, not by internal revolt, but by the shock of external violence, which involved conquerors and conquered in one common overthrow. The Indians will, I hope, soon stand in the same position towards us in which we once stood toward the Romans. Tacitus informs us, that it was the policy of Julius Agricola to instruct the sons of the leading men among the Britons in the literature and science of Rome, and to give them a taste for the refinements of Roman civilization.* We all know how well this plan answered. From being obstinate enemies, the Britons soon became attached and confiding friends; and they made more strenuous efforts to retain the Romans, than their ancestors had done to resist their invasion. It will be a shame to us if, with our greatly superior advantages, we also do not make our premature departure be dreaded as a calamity. It must not be said in after ages, that "the groans of the Britons" were elicited by the breaking up of the Roman empire; and the groans of the Indians by the continued existence of the British.

We may also take a lesson from the Mahommedans, whose conquests have been so extensive and so permanent. From the Indian Archipelago to Portugal, Arabic was established as the

* The words of Tacitus are: "*Jam vero principum filios liberalibus artibus erudire, et ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre, et qui modo linguam Romanam abnuebant, eloquentiam concupiscerent. Inde etiam habitus nostri honor et frequens toga. Paulatimque discessum ad delinimenta vitiorum, porticus et balnea et conviviolorum elegantiam; idque apud imperitos humanitas vocabatur cum pars servitutis esset.*"

language of religion, of literature and of law; the vernacular tongues : were saturated with it; and the youth of the conquered countries . soon began to vie with their first instructors in every branch of Mahommedan learning. A polite education was understood to . mean a Mahommedan education; and the most cultivated and : active minds were everywhere engaged on the side of the Mahom- . medan system. The Emperor Akbar followed up this policy in India. Arabicised Persian was adopted as the language of his dynasty; and the direction thereby given to the national sympathies and ideas greatly contributed to produce that feeling of veneration for the family which has long survived the loss of its power. This feeling, which in Europe would be called : loyalty, is common to those who have been brought up in the : old learning, but is very rarely found in connection with an English education. The policy of our predecessors, although . seldom worthy of imitation, was both very sound and successful in this respect. If we adopt the same policy, it will be more . beneficial to the natives in proportion as English contains a . greater fund of true knowledge than Arabic and Persian; and it will be more beneficial to us in proportion as the natives will study English more zealously and extensively than they did Arabic and Persian, and will be more completely changed by it in feeling and opinion.

These views were not worked out by reflection, but were forced on me by actual observation and experience. I passed some years in parts of India, where, owing to the comparative novelty of our rule and to the absence of any attempt to alter the current of native feeling, the national habits of thinking remained unchanged. There, high and low, rich and poor had only one idea of improving their political condition. The upper classes lived upon the prospect of regaining their former pre-eminence; and the lower, upon that of having avenues to wealth and distinction re-opened to them by the re-establishment of a native government. Even sensible and comparatively well affected

English education is regarded, and the multitudes who flock to our schools, prove this to be the case. The Brahmins, it is true, ruled supreme over the old system. It was moulded for the express purpose of enabling them to hold the minds of men in thralldom; and ages had fixed the stamp of solidity upon it. Upon this ground they were unassailable. But popular education, through the medium of the English language, is an entirely new element, with which they are incapable of dealing. It did not enter into the calculation of the founders of their system; and they have no machinery to oppose to it. Although they have been priest-ridden for ages, the people of India are, for all purposes of improvement, a new, and more than a new, people. Their appetite for knowledge has been whetted by their long-compelled fast; and aware of the superiority of the new learning, they devour it more greedily than they ever would have done Sanskrit lore, even if that lore had not been withheld from them: they bring to the task, vacant minds and excited curiosity, absence of prejudice, and an inextinguishable thirst for information. They cannot return under the dominion of the Brahmins. The spell has been forever broken. Hinduism is not a religion which will bear examination. It is so entirely destitute of anything like evidence, and is identified with so many gross immoralities and physical absurdities, that it gives way at once before the light of European science. Mahommedanism is made of tougher materials; yet, even a Mahommedan youth who has received an English education is a very different person from one who has been taught according to the perfect manner of the law of his fathers. As this change advances, India will become quite another country; nothing more will be heard of excitable religious feelings; priestcraft will no longer be able to work by ignorance; knowledge and power will pass from a dominant caste to the people themselves; the whole nation will co-operate with us in reforming institutions, the possibility of altering which could never have been contemplated if events had taken any other course; and many causes will concur to

introduce a more wholesome state of morals, which, of all the changes that can take place, is the one in which the public welfare is most concerned.

There has been a time at which each of the other branches of the public service has particularly commanded attention. The commercial, the political, the judicial, the revenue departments, have in turn been the subject of special consideration; and decisive steps have been taken to put them on a satisfactory footing. My object will be sufficiently attained if I succeed in producing a conviction that the time has arrived for taking up the question of public instruction in the same spirit and with the same determination to employ whatever means may be requisite for accomplishing the object in view. The absence of any sensible proof that increased taxation is attended with any proportionate benefit to India, has long been extremely disheartening both to the natives and to the European public officers serving in that country.* The entire abolition of the transit duties, and the establishment of an adequate system of public instruction, would furnish this proof, and would excite the warmest gratitude of everybody who from any cause feels interested in the welfare of India. The interest of a single million sterling,† in addition to what is already expended, would

* A large proportion of the land in the Bengal and Agra Presidencies is held tax-free; but although nothing can be more unreasonable than that persons who benefit by the protection of the Government should contribute nothing to its support, and throw the whole burden on the rest, it is impossible at present to induce the natives to view the subject in this light. Their invariable answer is, that while it is certain that some will be worse off, they see no reason to suppose that they will themselves be better off if the exempted lands are brought under contribution.

† The Parliament assignment of ten thousand pounds a year still remains to be accounted for to the Committee of Public Instruction from July 1813 to May 1821, with compound interest up to the date of payment.

be sufficient to answer every present purpose as far as education is concerned. Even on the narrowest view of national interest, a million could not be better invested. It would ensure the moral and intellectual emancipation of the people of India, and would render them at once attached to our rule and worthy of our alliance.

*

*

*

*

Below is given the translation of the Latin passage from Tacitus quoted by Sir Charles E. Trevelyan (page 60).

“And now they began to instruct the sons of chieftains in the liberal arts and give preference to the intellect of the Britons over the studiousness of the Gauls. And now those who (formerly) were refusing (the use of) the Roman language, desired eloquence (in that language). Hence also (arose) respect for our dress and the toga is now frequently used. Gradually they (i. e. the Britons) descended to the soothing seductions of (our) luxuries, such the portico and the baths, and the elegance of our banquets; and among these ignorant men this was called civilization, when it was (in reality) a part of their servitude.”

LORD HARDINGE'S RESOLUTION

10th October, 1844.

The Governor-general having taken into his consideration the existing state of education in Bengal, and being of opinion that it is highly desirable to afford it every reasonable encouragement by holding out to those who have taken advantage of the opportunity of instruction afforded to them, a fair prospect of employment in the public service, and thereby not only to reward individual merit, but to enable the State to profit as largely and as early as possible, by the result of the measures adopted of late years for the instruction of the people, as well by the Government as by private individuals and societies, has resolved that in every possible case a preference shall be given in the selection of candidates for public employment to those who have been educated in the institutions thus established, and especially to those who have distinguished themselves therein by a more than ordinary degree of merit and attainment.

The Governor-general is accordingly pleased to direct that it be an instruction to the Council of Education, and to the several Local Committees, and other authorities charged with the duty of superintending public instruction throughout the Provinces subject to the Government of Bengal, to submit to that Government at an early date, and subsequently on the 1st of January in each year, returns (prepared according to the form appended to this Resolution) of students who may be fitted, according to their several degrees of merit and capacity, for such of the various

public offices as, with reference to their age, abilities, and other circumstances, they may be deemed qualified to fill.

The Governor-general is further pleased to direct that the Council of Education be requested to receive from the governors or managers of all scholastic establishments, other than those supported out of the public funds, similar returns of meritorious students; and to incorporate them, after due and sufficient inquiry, with those of Government institutions; and also that the managers of such establishments be publicly invited to furnish returns of that description periodically to the Council of Education.

The returns, when received, will be printed and circulated to the heads of all Government offices both in and out of Calcutta, with instructions to omit no opportunity of providing for and advancing the candidates thus presented to their notice; and in filling up every situation, of whatever grade, in their gift, to show them an invariable preference over others not possessed of superior qualifications. The appointment of all such candidates to situations under the Government will be immediately communicated by the appointing officer to the Council of Education, and will by them be brought to the notice of Government and the public in their annual reports. It will be the duty of controlling officers, with whom rests the confirmation of appointments made by their subordinates, to see that a sufficient explanation is afforded in every case in which the selection may not have fallen upon an educated candidate whose name is borne on the printed returns.

With a view still further to promote and encourage the diffusion of knowledge among the humbler classes of the people, the

Governor-general is also pleased to direct that even in the selection of persons to fill the lowest offices under the Government, respect be had to the relative acquirements of the candidates, and that in every instance a man who can read and write be preferred to one who cannot.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Name of Candidate.	Age.	Residence, Dist. Purgunah and Village.	Institution at which Educated.	Extent of Acquirement.	Character and Abilities.	Class attained, and honorary Distinction and Tokens of Merit acquired.	Remarks.

PLAN OF THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

A PROPOSAL OF THE COUNCIL OF EDUCATION

25th October, 1845.

The present advanced state of education in the Bengal Presidency. with the large and annually increasing number of highly educated pupils, both in public and private institutions, renders it not only expedient and advisable, but a matter of strict justice and necessity, to confer upon them some mark of distinction, by which they may be recognized as persons of liberal education and enlightened minds, capable, from the literary and scientific training they have undergone, of entering at once upon the active duties of life; of commencing the practical pursuit of the learned professions, including in this description the business of instructing the rising generation; of holding the higher offices under Government open to natives, after due official qualification; or of taking the rank in society accorded in Europe to all members and graduates of the Universities.

Victoria under writ of Privy Seal, constituting the persons named, a Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor and Fellows, one body politic and corporate, by the name of the "*University of London*". In this charter are defined the mode of appointing and electing the officers above-mentioned, their constituting the Senate of the university, with the power of granting degrees in arts, science, medicine, etc.

Upon a similar plan, and for the same objects, it is proposed that the University of Calcutta shall consist of a Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor and Fellows, as follows :

* * * * *

The above is a rough outline of a plan, the carrying out of which would form one of the most important eras in history of education in India. It would open the paths of honour and distinction alike to every class and every institution; would encourage a high standard of qualification throughout the Presidency, by bestowing justly-earned rewards upon those who had spent years in the acquisition of knowledge, and rendering their literary honours a source of emolument as well as of social distinction. It would remove most of the objections urged against the existing system of examination of candidates for public employment, without lowering the standard of information required; would in a very few years produce a body of native public servants, superior in character, attainments and efficiency to any of their predecessors.

It would encourage the cultivation of the arts and sciences, and call into existence a class of native architects, engineers, surveyors and educated landholders, whose influence would rapidly and certainly diffuse a taste for the more refined and intellectual pleasures and pursuits of the West, to the gradual extinction of the enervating and degrading superstitions of the East. Increased facilities of intercourse, by means of railroads, with the interior of the country, the North-West Provinces, and with

Europe, would cause these influences to radiate from the centre of civilization, with a velocity and effect heretofore unknown in India, and, in fact, would be attended with all the advantages that have been recorded in history to have followed a judicious, enlightened, extended and sound system of education, encouraged by suitable rewards and distinctions.

The adoption of the plan would only be attended with a very trifling expense to Government in the commencement; for in the course of a few years the proceeds of the '*Fee Fund*' would be more than sufficient to defray every expense attendant upon the university.

It would raise the character and importance of the whole Education Department in public estimation, and ultimately place the educated natives of this great empire upon a level with those of the western world.

That the time for such a measure has arrived is fully proved by the standard of excellence attained in the senior scholarship examinations of the Council of Education*, and the creditable skill and proficiency exhibited by the graduates of the Medical College, whose examinations, in extent and difficulty, are much greater than those of any of the Colleges of Surgeons in Great Britain, and, in a purely professional point of view, nearly on a par with those required from the medical graduates of most British Universities.

Council of Education,
25th October, 1845.

FRED. J. MOUAT, M. D.
Secretary.

* Fully equal in extent to the Bachelor's examination of Oxford, Cambridge, and Dublin; and much more so than that of the Bachelier-es-Lettres of the Sorbonne in Paris.

EDUCATIONAL DESPATCH OF 1854

[From the Court of Directors of the East India Company to the Governor General of India in Council, dated July 19th, 1854.]

It appears to us that the present time, when by an Act of the Imperial Legislature the responsible trust of the Government of India has again been placed in our hands, is peculiarly suitable for the review of the progress which has already been made, the supply of existing deficiencies, and the adoption of such improvements as may be best calculated to secure the ultimate benefit of the people committed to our charge.

2. Among many subjects of importance, none can have a stronger claim to our attention than that of education. It is one of our most sacred duties, to be the means, as far as in us lies, of conferring upon the natives of India those vast moral and material blessings which flow from the general diffusion of useful knowledge, and which India may, under Providence, derive from her connexion with England. For although British influence has already, in many remarkable instances, been applied with great energy and success to uproot demoralising practices, and even crimes of a deeper dye, which for ages had prevailed among the natives of India, the good results of those efforts must, in order to be permanent, possess the further sanction of a general sympathy in the native mind which the advance of education alone can secure.

3. We have moreover always looked upon the encouragement of education as peculiarly important, because calculated "not only to produce a higher degree of intellectual fitness, but to raise the moral character of those who partake of its

advantages, and so to supply you with servants to whose probity you may with increased confidence commit offices of trust^{***} in India where the well-being of the people is so intimately connected with the truthfulness and ability of officers of every grade in all Departments of the State.

4. Nor, while the character of England is deeply concerned in the success of our efforts for the promotion of education, are her material interests altogether unaffected by the advance of European knowledge in India: this knowledge will teach the natives of India the marvellous results of the employment of labour and capital, rouse them to emulate us in the development of the vast resources of their country, guide them in their efforts, and gradually, but certainly, confer upon them all the advantages which accompany the healthy increase of wealth and commerce; and, at the same time, secure to us a large and more certain supply of many articles necessary for our manufactures and extensively consumed by all classes of our population, as well as an almost inexhaustible demand for the produce of British labour.

5. We have from time to time given careful attention and encouragement to the efforts which have hitherto been made for the spread of education, and we have watched with deep interest the practical results of the various systems by which these efforts have been directed. The periodical reports of the different Councils and Boards of Education, together with other official communications upon the same subject, have put us in possession of full information as to those educational establishments which are under the direct control of Government; while the evidence taken before the Committees of both Houses of Parliament upon Indian affairs has given us the advantage of similar information with respect to exertions made for this purpose by persons unconnected with Government, and has also enabled us to profit

* Public letter to Bengal, 5th September, 1827.

by a knowledge of the views of those who are best able to arrive at sound conclusions upon the question of education generally.

6. Aided, therefore, by ample experience of the past, and the most competent advice for the future we are now in a position to decide on the mode in which the assistance of Government should be afforded to the more extended and systematic promotion of general education in India, and on the measures which should at once be adopted to that end.

7. Before proceeding further, we must emphatically declare that the education which we desire to see extended in India is that which has for its object the diffusion of the improved arts, science, philosophy, and literature of Europe; in short of European knowledge.

8. The system of science and philosophy which forms the learning of the East abound with grave errors, and Eastern literature is at best very deficient as regards all modern discovery and improvements; Asiatic learning, therefore, however widely diffused, would but little advance our object. We do not wish to diminish the opportunities which are now afforded in special institutions for the study of Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian literature, or for the cultivation of those languages which may be called the classical languages of India. An acquaintance with the works contained in them is valuable for historical and antiquarian purposes, and a knowledge of the languages themselves is required in the study of Hindoo and Mahomedan law, and is also of great importance for the critical cultivation and improvement of the vernacular languages of India.

9. We are not unaware of the success of many distinguished Oriental scholars in their praiseworthy endeavours to ingraft upon portions of Hindoo philosophy the germs of sounder morals and of more advanced science; and we are far from underrating the good effect which has thus been produced upon the learned classes of India, who pay hereditary veneration to those ancient

languages, and whose assistance in the spread of education is so valuable, from the honorable and influential position which they occupy among their fellow countrymen. But such attempts, although they may usefully co-operate, can only be considered as auxiliaries and would be a very inadequate foundation for any general scheme of Indian education.

10. We have also received most satisfactory evidence of the high attainments in English literature and European science which have been acquired of late years by some of the natives of India. But this success has been confined to but a small number of persons; and we are desirous of extending far more widely the means of acquiring general European knowledge of a less high order, but of such a character, as may be practically useful to the people of India in their different spheres of life. To attain this end it is necessary, for the reasons which we have given above, that they should be made familiar with the works of European authors, and with the results of the thought and labour of Europeans on the subjects of every description upon which knowledge is to be imparted to them; and to extend the means of imparting this knowledge must be the object of any general system of education.

11. We have next to consider the manner in which our object is to be effected, and this leads us to the question of the *medium* through which knowledge is to be conveyed to the people of India. It has hitherto been necessary, owing to the want of translations or adaptations of European works in the vernacular languages of India and to the very imperfect shape in which European knowledge is to be found in any works in the learned languages of the East, for those who desired to obtain a liberal education to begin by the mastery of the English language as a key to the literature of Europe, and a knowledge of English will always be essential to those natives of India who aspire to a high order of education.

12. In some parts of India, more especially in the immediate vicinity of the Presidency towns, where persons who possess a knowledge of English are preferred to others in many employments, public as well as private, a very moderate proficiency in the English language is often looked upon by those who attend school instruction as the end and object of their education rather than as a necessary step to the improvement of their general knowledge. We do not deny the value in many respects of the mere faculty of speaking and writing English, but we fear that a tendency has been created in these districts, unduly to neglect the study of the vernacular languages.

13. It is neither our aim nor desire to substitute the English language for the vernacular dialects of the country. We have always been most sensible of the importance of the use of the languages which alone are understood by the great mass of the population. These languages and not English have been put by us in the place of Persian in the administration of justice and in the intercourse between the officers of Government and the people. It is indispensable, therefore, that in any general system of education the study of them should be assiduously attended to, and any acquaintance with improved European knowledge which is to be communicated to the great mass of the people—whose circumstances prevent them from acquiring a high order of education, and who cannot be expected to overcome the difficulties of a foreign language—can only be conveyed to them through one or other of those vernacular languages.

14. In any general system of education, English language should be taught where there is a demand for it; but such instruction should always be combined with a careful attention to the study of the vernacular language of the district, and with such general instruction as can be conveyed through that language; and while the English language continues to be made use of as by far the most perfect *medium* for the education

we desire that a sufficient number of qualified inspectors be appointed, who will periodically report upon the state of those colleges and schools which are now supported and managed by Government, as well as of such as will hereafter be brought under Government inspection by the measures that we propose to adopt. They will conduct, or assist at, the examination of the scholars of these institutions, and generally, by their advice, aid the managers and schoolmasters in conducting colleges and schools of every description throughout the country. They will necessarily be of different classes, and may possess different degrees of acquirement, according to the higher or lower character of the institutions which they will be employed to visit; but we need hardly say that, even for the proper inspection of the lower schools, and with a view to their effectual improvement, the greatest care will be necessary to select persons of high character and fitting judgment for such employment. A proper staff of clerks and other officers will, moreover, be required for the Educational Departments.

19. Reports of the proceedings of the inspectors should be made periodically and these, again, should be embodied in the annual reports of the heads of the Educational Departments, which should be transmitted to us, together with statistical returns (to be drawn up in similar forms in all parts of India), and other information of a general character relating to education.

20. We shall send copies of this dispatch to Governments of Fort St. George and of Bombay, and direct them at once to make provisional arrangements for the superintendence and inspection of education in their respective Presidencies. Such arrangements as they may make will be reported to you for sanction. You will take similar measures in communication with the Lieutenant Governors of Bengal and Agra, and you will also provide in such manner as may seem advisable for the wants of the non-regulation Provinces in this respect. We desire that

your proceedings in this matter may be reported to us with as little delay as possible, and we are prepared to approve of such an expenditure as you may deem necessary for this purpose.

21. In the selection of the heads of the Educational Departments, the inspectors, and other officers, it will be of the greatest importance to secure the services of persons who are not only best able, from their character, position and acquirements, to carry our objects into effect, but who may command the confidence of the natives of India. It may perhaps be advisable that the first heads of the Educational Departments as well as some of the inspectors, should be members of our Civil Service, as such appointments in the first instance would tend to raise the estimation in which these officers will be held, and to show the importance we attach to the subject of education, and also, as amongst them you will probably find the persons best qualified for the performance of the duty. But we desire that neither these offices, nor any others connected with education, shall be considered as necessarily to be filled by members of that service, to the exclusion of others, Europeans or Natives, who may be better fitted for them; and that, in any case, the scale of their remuneration shall be so fixed as publicly to recognise the important duties they will have to perform.

22. We now proceed to sketch out the general scheme of the measures which we propose to adopt. We have endeavoured to avail ourselves of the knowledge which has been gained from the various experiments which have been made in different parts of India for the encouragement of education; and we hope, by the more general adoption of those plans which have been carried into successful execution in particular districts, as well as by the introduction of other measures which appear to be wanting, to establish such a system as will prove generally applicable throughout India, and thus to impart to the educational efforts of our different Presidencies a greater degree of uniformity and method than at present exist:

23. We are fully aware that no general scheme would be applicable in all its details to the present condition of all portions of our Indian territories, differing so widely as they do, one from another, in many important particulars. It is difficult, moreover, for those who do not possess a recent and practical acquaintance with particular districts to appreciate the importance which should be attached to the feelings and influences which prevail in each; and we have, therefore, preferred confining ourselves to describing generally what we wish to see done, leaving to you, in communication with the several Local Governments, to modify particular measures so far as may be required, in order to adapt them to different parts of India.

24. Some years ago we declined to accede to a proposal made by the Council of Education, and transmitted to us with the recommendation of your Government, for the institution of an University in Calcutta. The rapid spread of a liberal education among the natives of India since that time, the high attainments shown by the native candidates for Government scholarships, and by native students in private institutions, the success of the Medical Colleges, and the requirements of an increasing European and Anglo-Indian population, have led us to the conclusion that the time is now arrived for the establishment of universities in India, which may encourage a regular and liberal course of education by conferring academical degrees as evidences of attainments in the different branches of art and science, and by adding marks of honour for those who may desire to compete for honorary distinction.

25. The Council of Education, in the proposal to which we have alluded, took the London University as their model; and we agree with them, that the form, government and functions of that University (copies of whose charters and regulations we enclose for your reference) are the best adapted to the wants of India, and may be followed with advantage, although some variation will be necessary in points of detail.

26. The Universities in India will accordingly consist of a Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, and Fellows, who will constitute a Senate. The Senates will have the management of the funds of the universities, and frame regulations for your approval, under which periodical examinations may be held in the different branches of arts and science by examiners selected from their own body, or nominated by them.

27. The function of the universities will be to confer degrees upon such persons as, having been entered as candidates according to the rules which may be fixed in this respect, and having produced from any of the "affiliated institutions" which will be enumerated on the foundation of the universities, or be from time to time added to them by Government, certificates of conduct, and of having pursued a regular course of study for a given time, shall have also passed at the universities such an examination as may be required of them. It may be advisable to dispense with the attendance required at the London University for the Matriculation examination and to substitute some mode of entrance examination which may secure a certain amount of knowledge in the candidates for degrees without making their attendance at the universities necessary, previous to the final examination.

28. The examination for degrees will not include any subjects connected with religious belief; and the affiliated institutions will be under the management of persons of every variety of religious persuasion. As in England, various institutions in immediate connexion with the Church of England, the Presbyterian College at Caermarthen, the Roman Catholic College at Oscott, the Wesleyan College at Sheffield, the Baptist College at Bristol, and the Countess of Huntingdon's College at Cheshunt, are among the institutions from which the London University is empowered to receive certificates for degrees; so in India, institutions conducted by all denominations of Christians, Hindoos, Mahomedans, Parsees, Sikhs, Buddhists, Jains, or any other

religious persuasions, may be affiliated to the universities, if they are found to afford the requisite course of study, and can be depended upon for the certificates of conduct which will be required.

29. The detailed regulations for the examination for degrees should be framed with a due regard for all classes of the affiliated institutions; and we will only observe upon this subject that the standard for common degrees will require to be fixed with very great judgment. There are many persons who well deserve the distinction of an academical degree, as the recognition of a liberal education, who could not hope to obtain it if the examination was as difficult as that for the senior Government scholarships; and the standard required should be such as to command respect without discouraging the efforts of deserving students, which would be a great obstacle to the success of the universities. In the competitions for honours which as in the London University, will follow the examinations for degrees, care should be taken to maintain such a standard as will afford a guarantee for high ability and valuable attainments,—the subjects for examination being so selected as to include the best portions of the different schemes of study pursued at the affiliated institutions.

30. It will be advisable to institute, in connexion with the universities, professorships for the purposes of the delivery of lectures in various branches of learning, for the acquisition of which, at any rate in an advanced degree, facilities do not now exist in other institutions in India. Law is the most important of these subjects; and it will be for you to consider whether, as was proposed in the plan of the Council of Education to which we have before referred, the attendance, upon certain lectures, and the attainment of a degree in law, may not, for the future, be made a qualification for Vakeels and Moonsiffs, instead of, or in addition to, the present system of examination, which must, however, be continued in places not within easy reach of an university.

31. Civil Engineering is another subject of importance, the advantages of which, as a profession, are gradually becoming known to the natives of India; and while we are inclined to believe that instruction of a practical nature, such as is given at the Thomason College of Civil Engineering at Roorkee, is far more useful than any lectures could probably be. Professorships of Civil Engineering might, perhaps, be attached to the universities, and degrees in Civil Engineering be included in their general scheme.

32. Other branches of useful learning may suggest themselves to you, in which it might be advisable that lectures should be read, and special degrees given; and it would generally encourage the cultivation of the vernacular languages of India that professorships should be founded for those languages, and perhaps also for Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian. A knowledge of the Sanskrit language, the root of the vernaculars of the greater part of India, is more especially necessary, to those who are engaged in the work of composition in those languages; while Arabic, through Persian, is one of the component parts of the Urdu language, which extends over so large a part of Hindoostan, and is, we are informed, capable of considerable development. The grammars of these languages, and their application to the improvement of the spoken languages of the country, are the points to which the attention of these professors should be mainly directed; and there will be an ample field for their labours unconnected with any instruction in the tenets of the Hindoo or Mahomedan religions. We should refuse to sanction any such teaching, as directly opposed to the principle of religious neutrality to which we have always adhered.

33. We desire that you take into consideration the institution of Universities at Calcutta and Bombay, upon the general principles which we have explained to you, and report to us upon the best method of procedure, with a view to their incorporation by Acts of the Legislative Councils of India. The offices of

Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor will naturally be filled by persons of high stations, who have shown an interest in the cause of education; and it is in connexion with the universities that we propose to avail ourselves of the services of the existing Council of Education at Calcutta and Board of Education at Bombay. We wish to place these gentlemen in a position which will not only mark our sense of the exertions which they have made in furtherance of education but will give it the benefit of their past experience of the subject. We propose, therefore, that the Council of Education at Calcutta, and the Board of Education at Bombay, with some additional members to be named by the Government, shall constitute the Senate of the University at each of those Presidencies.

34. The additional members should be so selected as to give to all those who represent the different systems of education which will be carried on in the affiliated institutions—including natives of India of all religious persuasions, who possess the confidence of the native communities—a fair voice in the Senates. We are led to make these remarks, as we observe that the plan of the Council of Education, in 1845, for the constitution of the Senate of the proposed Calcutta University was not sufficiently comprehensive.

35. We shall be ready to sanction the creation of an University at Madras, or in any part of India, where a sufficient number of institutions exist, from which properly qualified candidates for degrees could be supplied; it being in our opinion advisable that the great centres of European Government and civilization in India should possess universities similar in character to those which will now be founded, as soon as the extension of a liberal education shows that their establishment would be of advantage to the native communities.

36. Having provided for the general superintendence of education and for the institution of universities, not so much to

be in themselves places of instruction as to test the value of the education obtained elsewhere, we proceed to consider *first*, the different classes of colleges and schools, which should be maintained in simultaneous operation, in order to place within the reach of all classes of the natives of India the means of obtaining improved knowledge suited to their several conditions of life; and *secondly*, the manner in which the most effectual aid may be rendered by Government to each class of educational institutions.

37. The candidates for university degrees will, as we have already explained, be supplied by colleges affiliated to the universities. These will comprise all such institutions as are capable of supplying a sufficiently high order of instruction in the different branches of art and science in which university degrees will be accorded. The Hindoo, Hoogly, Dacca, Krishnaghur, and Berhampur Government Anglo-Vernacular Colleges, the Sanskrit College, the Mahomedan Madrassas, and the Medical College in Bengal; the Elphinstone Institution, the Poonah College, and the Grant Medical College in Bombay; the Dehli, Agra, Benares, Bareilly and Thomason Colleges in the North-Western Provinces; Seminaries such as the Oriental Seminary in Calcutta, which have been established by highly educated natives, a class of places of instruction which we are glad to learn is daily increasing in number and efficiency; those, which, like the Parental Academy, are conducted by East Indians; Bishop's College, the General Assembly's Institution, Dr. Duff's College, the Baptist College at Serampore, and other Institutions under the superintendence of different religious bodies and Missionary Societies, will, at once, supply a considerable number of educational establishments worthy of being affiliated to the universities, and of occupying the highest place in the scale of general instruction.

38. The affiliated institutions will be periodically visited by Government inspectors; and a spirit of honourable rivalry, tending to preserve their efficiency will be promoted by this, as

well as by the competition of their most distinguished students for university honours. Scholarships should be attached to them, to be held by the best students of lower schools; and their schemes of education should provide, in the anglo-vernacular colleges, for a careful cultivation of the vernacular languages; and, in the Oriental colleges, for sufficient instruction in the English and vernacular languages, so as to render the studies of each most available for that general diffusion of European knowledge which is the main object of education in India.

39. It is to this class of institutions that the attention of Government has hitherto been principally directed, and they absorb the greater part of the public funds which are now applied to educational purposes. The wise abandonment of the early views with respect to native education, which erroneously pointed to the classical languages of the East as the *media* for imparting European knowledge, together with the small amount of pecuniary aid which, in the then financial condition of India, was at your command, has led, we think, to too exclusive a direction of the efforts of Government towards providing the means of acquiring a very high degree of education for a small number of natives of India, drawn, for the most part, from what we should here call the higher classes.

40. It is well that every opportunity should have been given to those classes for the acquisition of a liberal European education, the effects of which may be expected slowly to pervade the rest of their fellow countrymen, and to raise, in the end, the educational tone of the whole country. We are, therefore, far from under-rating the importance, or the success, of the efforts which have been made in this direction; but the higher classes are both able and willing in many cases to bear a considerable part at least of the cost of their education; and it is abundantly evident that, in some parts of India no artificial stimulus is any longer required in order to create a demand for such an education as is conveyed in the Government anglo-vernacular colleges.

We have, by the establishment and support of these colleges, pointed out the manner in which a liberal education is to be obtained, and assisted them to a very considerable extent from the public funds. In addition to this, we are now prepared to give, by sanctioning the establishment of universities, full development to the highest course of education to which the natives of India, or of any other country, can aspire; and besides, by the division of university degrees and distinctions into different branches, the exertions of highly educated men will be directed to the studies which are necessary to success in the various active professions of life. We shall, therefore, have done as much as a Government can do to place the benefits of education plainly and practically before the higher classes in India:

41. Our attention should now be directed to a consideration, if possible, still more important, and one which has been hitherto, we are bound to admit, too much neglected, namely, how useful and practical knowledge, suited to every station of life, may be best conveyed to the great mass of the people, who are utterly incapable of obtaining any education worthy of the name by their own unaided efforts, and we desire to see the active measures of Government more especially directed, for the future, to this object, for the attainment of which we are ready to sanction a considerable increase of expenditure.

42. Schools—whose object should be not to train highly a few youths, but to provide more opportunities than now exist for the acquisition of such an improved education as will make those who possess it more useful members of society in every condition of life—should exist in every district in India. These schools should be subject to constant and careful inspection; and their pupils might be encouraged by scholarships being instituted at other institutions which would be tenable as rewards for merit by the best of their number.

43. We include in this class of institutions those which, like the zillah schools of Bengal, the district Government anglo-

vernacular schools of Bombay, and such as have been established by the Raja of Burdwan and other native gentlemen in different parts of India, use the English language as the chief medium of instruction; as well as others of an inferior order, such as the Tehseelee schools in the North-West Provinces, and the Government Vernacular schools in the Bombay Presidency, whose object is, however imperfectly it has been as yet carried out, to convey the highest class of instruction which can now be taught through the medium of the vernacular languages.

44. We include these anglo-vernacular and vernacular schools in the same class, because we are unwilling to maintain the broad line of separation which at present exists between schools in which the *media* for imparting instruction differ. The knowledge conveyed is no doubt, at the present time, much higher in the anglo-vernacular than in the vernacular schools; but the difference will become less marked, and the latter more efficient, as the gradual enrichment of the vernacular languages in works of education allows their schemes of study to be enlarged, and as a more numerous class of school-masters is raised up able to impart a superior education.

45. It is indispensable, in order fully and efficiently to carry out our views as to these schools, that their masters should possess a knowledge of English in order to acquire, and of the vernaculars so as readily to convey, useful knowledge to their pupils; but we are aware that it is impossible to obtain at present the services of a sufficient number of persons so qualified, and that such a class must be gradually collected and trained in the manner to which we shall hereafter allude. In the meantime you must make the best use which is possible of such instruments as are now at your command.

Provinces, and which has been carried out in eight districts under the able direction of Mr. H.S. Reid in an eminently practical manner, and with great promise of satisfactory results, be made capable of imparting correct elementary knowledge to the great mass of the people. The most promising pupils of these schools might be rewarded by scholarships in places of education of a superior order.

47. Such a system as this, placed in all its degrees under efficient inspection, beginning with the humblest elementary instruction, and ending with the university test of a liberal education, the best students in each class of schools being encouraged by the aid afforded them towards obtaining a superior education as the reward of merit, by means of such a system of scholarships as we shall have to describe, would, we firmly believe, impart life and energy to education in India and lead to a gradual, but steady extension of its benefits to all classes of the people.

48. When we consider the vast population of British India: and the sums which are now expended upon educational efforts, which, however successful in themselves, have reached but an insignificant number of those who are of a proper age to receive school instruction, we cannot but be impressed with the almost insuperable difficulties which would attend such an extension of the present system of education by means of colleges and schools entirely supported at the cost of Government as might be hoped to supply, in any reasonable time, so gigantic a deficiency and to provide adequate means for setting on foot such a system as we have described and desire to see established.

49. Nor is it necessary that we should depend entirely upon the direct efforts of Government. We are glad to recognise an increased desire on the part of the native population not only in the neighbourhood of the great centres of European civilization, but also in remoter districts, for the means of obtaining a better education; and we have evidence in many instances of their

readiness to give a practical proof of their anxiety in this respect by coming forward with liberal pecuniary contributions. Throughout all ages, learned Hindoos and Mahomedans have devoted themselves to teaching with little other remuneration than a bare subsistence; and munificent bequests have not unfrequently been made for the permanent endowment of educational institutions.

50. At the same time, in so far as the noble exertions of societies of Christians of all denominations to guide the natives of India in the way of religious truth, and to instruct uncivilised races, such as those found in Assam, in the Cossya, Garrow, and Rajmehal Hills, and in various districts of Central and Southern India (who are in the lowest condition of ignorance, and are either wholly without a religion, or are the slaves of a degrading and barbarous superstition), have been accompanied, in their educational establishments, by the diffusion of improved knowledge, they have largely contributed to the spread of that education which it is our object to promote.

51. The consideration of the impossibility of Government alone doing all that must be done in order to provide adequate means for the education of the natives of India, and of the ready assistance which may be derived from efforts which have hitherto received but little encouragement from the State, has led us to the natural conclusion that the most effectual method of providing for the wants of India in this respect will be to combine with the agency of the Government the aid which may be derived from the exertions and the liberality of the educated and wealthy natives of India, and of other benevolent persons.

52. We have, therefore, resolved to adopt in India the system of grants-in-aid which has been carried out in this country with very great success; and we confidently anticipate by thus drawing support from local resources, in addition to contributions from the State, a far more rapid progress of education than would follow a mere increase of expenditure by Government; while it

possesses the additional advantage of fostering a spirit of reliance upon local exertions and combination for local purposes, which is of itself of no mean importance to the well-being of a nation.

53. The system of grants-in-aid, which we propose to establish in India will be based on an entire abstinence from interference with the religious instruction conveyed in the school assisted. Aid will be given (so far as the requirements of each particular district, as compared with others, and the funds at the disposal of Government, may render it possible) to all schools, which impart a good secular education, provided that they are under adequate local management (by the term "local management" we understand one or more persons, such as private patrons, voluntary subscribers, or the trustees of endowments, who will undertake the general superintendence of the school, and be answerable for its permanence for some given time); and provided also that their managers consent that the schools shall be subject to Government inspection, and agree to any conditions which may be laid down for the regulation of such grants.

54. It has been found by experience, in this and in other countries, that not only is an entirely gratuitous education valued far less by those who receive it than one for which some payment, however small, is made, but that the payment induces a more regular attendance and greater exertion on the part of the pupils; and, for this reason, as well as because school fees themselves, insignificant as they may be in each individual instance, will in the aggregate, when applied to the support of a better class of masters, become of very considerable importance, we desire that grants-in-aid shall, as a general principle, be made to such schools only (with the exception of normal schools) as require some fee, however small, from their scholars.

55. Careful consideration will be required in framing rules for the administration of the grants; and the same course should be adopted in India which has been pursued, with obvious

advantage by the Committee of Council here, namely, to appropriate the grants to *specific objects* and not (except, perhaps, in the case of normal schools) to apply them in the form of simple contributions in aid of the general expenses of a school. The augmentation of the salaries of the head teachers, and the supply of junior teachers, will probably be found in India, as with us, to be the most important objects to which the grants can ordinarily be appropriated. The foundation, or assistance in the foundation, of scholarships for candidates from lower schools, will also be a proper object for the application of grants-in-aid. In some cases, again, assistance towards erecting, or repairing a school, or the provision of an adequate supply of school books, may be required; but the appropriation of the grant in each particular instance should be regulated by the peculiar circumstances of each school and district.

56. The amount and continuance of the assistance given, will depend upon the periodical reports of inspectors, who will be selected with special reference to their possessing the confidence of the native communities. In their periodical inspections, *no notice whatsoever* should be taken by them of the religious doctrines which may be taught in any school; and their duty should be strictly confined to ascertaining whether the secular knowledge conveyed is such as to entitle it to consideration in the distribution of the sum which will be applied to grants-in-aid. They should also assist in the establishment of schools, by their advice, wherever they may have opportunities of doing so.

57. We confide the practical adaptation of the general principles we have laid down as to grants-in-aid to your discretion, aided by the Educational Departments of the different Presidencies. In carrying into effect our views, which apply alike to all schools and institutions, whether male or female, anglo-vernacular or vernacular, it is of the greatest importance that the conditions under which schools will be assisted should be clearly and publicly placed before the natives of India. For this

purpose Government notifications should be drawn up and promulgated in the different vernacular languages. It may be advisable distinctly to assert in them the principle of perfect religious neutrality on which the grants will be awarded; and care should be taken to avoid holding out expectations which from any cause may be liable to disappointment.

58. There will be little difficulty in the application of this system of grants-in-aid to the higher order of places of instruction in India in which English is at present the medium of instruction

59. Grants-in-aid will also at once give assistance to all such anglo-vernacular and vernacular schools as impart a good elementary education; but we fear that the number of this class of schools is at present inconsiderable, and that such as are in existence require great improvement.

60. A more minute and constant local supervision than would accompany the general system of grants-in-aid will be necessary in order to raise the character of the "indigenous schools", which are at present, not only very inefficient in quality, but of exceedingly precarious duration, as is amply shown by the statistics collected by Mr. Adam in Bengal and Behar, and from the very important information we have received of late years from the North-West Provinces. In organising such a system, we cannot do better than to refer you to the manner in which the operations of Mr. Reid have been conducted in the North-Western Provinces, and to the instructions given by him to the Zillah and Pergunnah visitors, and contained in the appendix to his first report.

61. We desire to see local management under Government inspection and assisted by grants-in-aid taken advantage of wherever it is possible to do so, and that no Government colleges or schools shall be founded, for the future, in any district where a sufficient number of institutions exists, capable, with assistance from the State, of supplying the local demand for education;

but in order fully to carry out the views we have expressed with regard to the adequate provision of schools throughout the country, it will probably be necessary, for some years, to supply the wants of particular parts of India by the establishment, temporary support, and management of places of education of every class in districts where there is a little or no prospect of adequate, local efforts being made for this purpose, but where, nevertheless, they are urgently required.

62. We look forward to the time when any general system of education entirely provided by Government may be discontinued, with the gradual advance of the system of grant-in-aid, and when many of the existing Government institutions, especially those of the higher order, may be safely closed, or transferred to the management of local bodies under the control of, and aided by, the State. But it is far from our wish to check the spread of education in the slightest degree by the abandonment of a single school to probable decay; and we, therefore, entirely confide in your discretion, and in that of the different local authorities while keeping this object steadily in view, to act with caution, and to be guided by special reference to the particular circumstances which affect the demand for education in different parts of India.

63. The system of free and stipendiary scholarships, to which we have already more than once referred as a connecting link between the different grades of educational institutions, will require some revision and extension in carrying out our enlarged educational plans. We wish to see the object proposed by Lord Auckland in 1839, "of connecting the zilla schools with the central colleges by attaching to the latter scholarships to which the best scholars of the former might be eligible," more fully carried out; and also, as the measures we now propose assume an organised form, that the same system may be adopted with

* * Minute, November 24th. 1839, paragraphs 32 and 33.

regard to schools of a lower description, and that the best pupils of the inferior schools shall be provided for by means of scholarships in schools of a higher order, so that superior talent in every class may receive that encouragement and development which it deserves. The amount of stipendiary scholarships should be fixed at such a sum as may be considered sufficient for the maintenance of the holders of them at the colleges or schools to which they are attached and which may often be at a distance from the home of the students. We think it desirable that this system of scholarships should be carried out, not only in connexion with those places of education which are under the immediate superintendence of the State, but in all educational institutions which will now be brought into our general system.

64. We are, at the same time, of opinion that the expenditure upon existing Government scholarships, other than those to which we have referred, which amounts to a considerable sum, should be gradually reduced, with the requisite regard for the claims of the present holders of them. The encouragement of young men of ability, but of slender means, to pursue their studies, is no doubt both useful and benevolent, and we have no wish to interfere with the private endowments which have been devoted to so laudable an object, or to withdraw the additions which may have been made by us to any such endowments. But the funds at the disposal of Government are limited, and we doubt the expediency of applying them to the encouragement of the acquisition of learning, by means of stipends which not only far exceed the cost of the maintenance of the student, but in many cases are above what he could reasonably expect to gain on entering the public service or any of the active professions of life.

65. We shall, however, offer encouragement to education which will tend to more practical results than those scholarships. By giving to persons who possess an aptness for teaching, as well as the requisite standard of acquirements, and who are willing to devote themselves to the profession of school-master, moderate

monthly allowances for their support during the time which it may be requisite for them to pass in normal schools, or classes, in order to acquire the necessary training, we shall assist many deserving students to qualify themselves for a career of practical usefulness, and one which will secure them an honourable competence through life. We are also of opinion that admission to places of instruction, which, like the Medical and Engineering colleges, are maintained by the State for the purpose of educating persons for special employment under Government, might be made the rewards of industry and ability, and thus supply a practical encouragement to general education, similar to that which will be afforded by the educational service.

66. The establishment of universities will offer considerable further inducements for the attainment of high proficiency, and thus supply the place of the present senior scholarships, with this additional advantage, that a greater number of subjects in which distinction can be gained, will be offered to the choice of students than can be comprised in one uniform examination for a scholarship, and that their studies will thus be practically directed into channels which will aid them in the different professions of life which they may afterwards adopt.

67. In England when systematic attempts began to be made for the improvement of education, one of the chief defects was found to be the insufficient number of qualified school-masters and the imperfect method of teaching which prevailed. This led to the foundation of normal and model schools for the training of masters and the exemplification of the best methods for the organization, discipline and introduction of elementary schools. This deficiency has been the more palpably felt in India, as the difficulty of finding persons properly educated for the work of tuition is greater; and we desire to see the establishment, with as little delay as possible, of training schools and classes for masters in each Presidency in India. It will probably be found that some of the existing institutions may be adapted, wholly or

partially, to this purpose, with less difficulty than would attend the establishment of entirely new schools.

68. We cannot do better than refer you to the plan which has been adopted in Great Britain for this object, and which appears to us to be capable of easy adaptation to India. It mainly consists, as you will perceive on reference to the minutes of the Committee of Council, copies of which we enclose, in the selection and stipend of pupil-teachers (awarding a small payment to the masters of the schools in which they are employed for their instruction out of school hours); their ultimate removal, if they prove worthy, to normal schools; the issue to them of certificates on the completion of their training in those normal schools; and in securing to them a sufficient salary when they are afterwards employed as school-masters. This system should be carried out in India, both in the Government colleges and schools, and, by means of grants-in-aid, in all institutions which are brought under Government inspection. The amount of the stipends to pupil-teachers and students at normal schools should be fixed with great care. The former should receive moderate allowances rather above the sums which they would earn if they left school, and the stipends to the latter should be regulated by the same principle which we have laid down with respect to scholarships.

69. You will be called upon, in carrying these measures into effect, to take into consideration the position and prospects of the numerous classes of natives of India who are ready to undertake the important duty of educating their fellow countrymen. The late extension of the pension regulations of 1831 to the educational service may require to be adopted to the revised regulations in this respect; and our wish is that the profession of school-master may, for the future, afford inducements to the natives of India such as are held out in other branches of the public service. The provision of such a class of school-masters as we wish to see, must be a work of time, and in encouraging

the "indigenous schools", our present aim should be to improve the teachers whom we find in possession, and to take care not to provoke the hostility of this class of persons, whose influence is so great over the minds of the lower classes, by superseding them where it is possible to avoid it. They should, moreover, be encouraged to attend the normal schools and classes which may hereafter be instituted for this class of teachers.

70. Equal in importance to the training of school-masters is the provision of vernacular school-books, which shall provide European information to be the object of study in the lower classes of schools. Something has, no doubt, been done, of late years, towards this end, but more still remains to be done; and we believe that deficiencies might be readily and speedily supplied by the adoption of a course recommended by Mr. M. Elphinstone in 1825, namely—"That the best translations of particular books, or the best elementary treatises in specified languages, should be advertised for and liberally rewarded."

71. The aim should be, in compilations and original compositions (to quote from one of Mr. Adam's valuable reports upon the state of education in Bengal) "not to translate European works into the words and idioms of the native languages, but so to combine the substance of European knowledge with native forms of thought and sentiment as to render the school books useful and attractive." We also refer with pleasure upon this point to some valuable observations by Mr. Reid,* in his report which we have quoted before, more especially as regards instruction in geography. It is obvious that the local peculiarities of different parts of India render it necessary that the class books in each should be especially adapted to the feelings, sympathies, and history of the people; and we will only further remark upon this subject, that the Oriental Colleges, besides generally tending, as we have before observed,

* Report 1850-51, paragraphs 293-302.

to the enrichment of the vernacular languages, may, we think, be made of great use in the translation of scientific works into those languages, as has already been done to some extent in the Dehli, Benares, and Poonah Colleges.

72. We have always been of opinion that the spread of education in India will produce a greater efficiency in all branches of administration by enabling you to obtain the services of intelligent and trustworthy persons in every department of Government; and on the other hand, we believe that the numerous vacancies of different kinds which have constantly to be filled up, may afford a great stimulus to education. The first object must be to select persons properly qualified to fill these situations; secondary to this is the consideration how far they may be so distributed as to encourage popular education.

73. The resolutions of our Governor General in Council of the 10th of October, 1844, gave a general preference to well-educated over uneducated men in the admissions to public service. We perceive with much satisfaction from the returns which we have recently received of the persons appointed since that year in the Revenue Department of Bengal, as well as from the educational reports from different parts of India, that a very considerable number of educated men have been employed under Government of late years; and we understand that it is often not so much the want of Government employment as the want of properly qualified persons to be employed by Government, which is felt at the present time, in many parts of India.

74. We shall not enter upon the causes which, as we foresaw, have led to the failure of that part of the resolutions which provided for the annual submission to Government of lists of meritorious students. It is sufficient for our present purpose to observe that no more than 46 persons have been gazetted in Bengal up to this time, all of whom were students in the Government colleges. In the last year for which we have returns (1852), only two persons were so distinguished; and we can readily believe, with

the Secretary to the Board of Revenue in Bengal, * that young men who have passed difficult examinations in the higher branches of philosophy and mathematics are naturally disinclined to accept such employment as persons who intend to make the public service their profession must necessarily commence with.

75. The necessity for any such lists will be done away with by the establishment of universities, as the acquisition of a degree, and still more the attainment of university distinctions, will bring highly educated young men under the notice of Government. The resolutions in question will, therefore, require revision so as to adapt them practically to carry out our views upon this subject. What we desire is that, where the other qualifications of the candidates for appointments under Government are equal, a person who has received a good education, irrespective of the place or manner in which it may have been acquired, should, be preferred to one who has not; and that even in lower situations, a man who can read and write be preferred to one who cannot, if he is equally eligible in other respects.

76. We also approve of the institution of examinations where practicable, to be simply and entirely tests of fitness of candidates for the special duties of the various departments in which they are seeking employment, as has been the case in the Bombay Presidency. We confidently commit the encouragement of educated, in preference to uneducated, men to the different officers who are responsible for their selection; and we cannot interfere by any further regulations to fetter their free choice in a matter of which they bear the sole responsibility.

77. We are sanguine enough to believe that some effect has already been produced by the improved education of the public service of India. The ability and integrity of a large and increasing number of the native judges, to whom the greater

* Letter of 6th April, 1852, with Returns in Revenue Department, Bengal.

part of the civil jurisdiction in India is now committed, and the high estimation in which many among them are held by their fellow-countrymen, is, in our opinion, much to be attributed to the progress of education among these officers, and to their adoption along with it of that high moral tone which pervades the general literature of Europe. Nor is it among the higher officers alone that we have direct evidence of the advantage which the public derives from the employment of educated men. We quote from the last Report of the Dacca College,³ with particular satisfaction, as we are aware that much of the happiness of the people of India depends upon the honesty of the officers of police:—"The best possible evidence has been furnished," say the local committee, "that some of the ex-students of the College of Dacca have completely succeeded in the arduous office of darogah. Krishna Chunder Dutt, employed as a darogah under the Magistrate of Howrah, in particular, is recommended for promotion, as having gained the respect and applause of all classes, who, though they may not practise, yet know how to admire, real honesty and integrity of purpose."

78. But, however large the number of appointments under Government may be, the views of the natives of India should be directed to the far wider and more important sphere of usefulness and advantage which a liberal education lays open to them; and such practical benefits arising from improved knowledge should be constantly impressed upon them by those who know their feelings and have influence or authority to advise or direct their efforts. We refer, as an example in this respect, with mingled pleasure and regret, to the eloquent addresses delivered by the late Mr. Bethune, when President of the Council of Education, to the students of the Krishnaghur and Dacca Colleges.

79. There are some other points connected with the general subject of education in India upon which we will now briefly

remark. We have always regarded with special interest those educational institutions which have been directed towards training up the natives of India to particular professions, both with a view to their useful employment in public service, and to enable them to pursue active and profitable occupations in life. The medical colleges in different parts of India have proved that, in despite of difficulties which appeared at first sight to be insurmountable, the highest attainments in medicine and surgery are within the reach of educated natives of India: we shall be ready to aid in the establishment and support of such places of instruction as the medical colleges of Calcutta and Bombay, in other parts of India. We have already alluded to the manner in which students should be supplied to those colleges as well as to those for the training of civil engineers.

80. The success of the Thomason College of Civil Engineering at Roorkee has shown that, for the purpose of training up persons capable of carrying out the great works which are in progress under Government throughout India, and to qualify the natives of India for the exercise of a profession which, now that the system of railways and public works is being rapidly extended, will afford an opening for a very large number of persons, it is inexpedient that similar places for practical instruction in civil engineering should be established in other parts of India, and especially in the Presidency of Madras, where works of irrigation are so essential, not only to the prosperity of the country, but to the very existence of the people in times of drought and scarcity. The subject has been prominently brought under your notice in the recent reports of the Public Works Commissioners for the different Presidencies, and we trust that immediate measures will be taken to supply a deficiency which is at present

time in different parts of India. We have lately received a very encouraging report of that established by Dr. Hunter in Madras, and we have also been informed that Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, with his accustomed munificence, has offered to lay out a very considerable sum upon a like school in Bombay. Such institutions as these will, in the end, be self-supporting; but we are ready to assist in their establishment by grants-in-aid for the supply of models, and other assistance which they may advantageously derive from the increased attention which has been paid of late years to such subjects in the country. We enclose you the copy of a report which we have received from Mr. Redgrave upon the progress of the Madras school, which may prove of great value in guiding the efforts of the promoters of any similar institutions which may hereafter be established in India. We have also perceived with satisfaction that the attention of the Council of Education in Calcutta has been lately directed to the subject of attaching to each zillah school the means of teaching practical agriculture; for there is, as Dr. Mouat truly observes, "no single advantage that could be afforded to the vast rural population of India that would equal the introduction of an improved system of agriculture."

82. The increasing desire of the Mahomedan population to acquire European knowledge has given us much satisfaction. We perceive that the Council of Education of Bengal has this subject under consideration and we shall receive with favour any proposition which may appear to you to be likely to supply with the wants of so large a portion of the natives of India.

83. The importance of female education in India cannot be over-rated; and we have observed with pleasure the evidence which is now afforded of an increased desire on the part of many of the natives of India to give a good education to their

daughters. By this means a far greater proportional impulse is imparted to the educational and moral tone of the people than by the education of men. We have already observed that schools for females are included among those to which grants-in-aid may be given; and we cannot refrain from expressing our cordial sympathy with the efforts which are being made in this direction. Our Governor General in Council has declared, in a communication to the Government of Bengal,* that the Government ought to give to the native female education in India its frank and cordial support; in this we heartily concur and we especially approve of the bestowal of marks of honour upon such native gentlemen as Rao Bahadur Magahuabhai Karamchand who devoted Rs. 20,000 to the foundation of two native female schools in Ahmedabad, as by such means our desire for the extension of female education becomes generally known.

84. Considerable misapprehension appears to exist as to our views with respect to religious instruction in the Government institutions. Those institutions were founded for the benefit of the whole population of India; and in order to effect their object it was, and is, indispensable that the education conveyed in them should be exclusively secular. The Bible is, we understand, placed in the libraries of the colleges and schools and the pupils are able freely to consult it. This is as it should be; and, moreover, we have no desire to prevent, or discourage, any explanations which the pupils may, of their own free will, ask from the masters upon the subject of the Christian religion provided that such information be given out of school hours. Such instruction being entirely voluntary on both sides, it is necessary, in order to prevent the slightest suspicion of an intention on our part to make use of the influence of Government for the purpose of proselytism, that no notice shall be taken of it by the inspectors in their periodical visits.

* Report on Public Instruction, Bengal, 1849-50, page 2.

85. Having now finished the sketch that we proposed to give of the scheme for the encouragement of education in India, which we desire to see gradually brought into operation, we proceed to make some observations upon the state of education in several Presidencies, and to point out the parts of our general plan which are most deficient in each.

86. In Bengal, education through the medium of the English language has arrived at a higher point than in any other part of India. We are glad to receive constant evidence of an increasing demand for such an education, and of the readiness of the natives of different districts to exert themselves for the sake of obtaining it. There are now five Government anglo-vernacular colleges; and zillah schools have been established in nearly every district. We confidently expect that the introduction of the system of grants-in-aid will very largely increase the number of schools of superior order; and we hope that before long, sufficient provision may be found to exist in many parts of the country for the education of the middle and higher classes independent of the Government institutions, which may then be closed as has been already the case in Burdwan, in consequence of the enlightened conduct of the Rajah of Burdwan, or they may be transferred to local management.

87. Very little has, however, been hitherto done in Bengal for the education of the mass of the people, especially for their instruction through the medium of the vernacular languages. A few vernacular schools were founded by Government in 1844, of which only 33 now remain, with 1400 pupils, and upon their transfer, in April, 1852, from the charge of the Board of Revenue to that of the Council of Education, it appeared that "they were in a languishing state and had not fulfilled the expectations formed on their establishment".

88. We have perused, with considerable interest, the report of Mr. Robinson, Inspector of the Assam schools, of which there-

supply the place of the establishment, support and management by Government, of places of instruction of the highest grade, where there may be a sufficient reason for their institution.

92. At the same time, the system for the promotion of general education throughout the country, by means of the inspection and encouragement of indigenous schools, has laid the foundation of a great advancement in the education of the lower classes. Mr. Thomason ascertained, from statistical information, the lamentable state of ignorance in which the people were sunk, while the registration of land, which is necessary under the revenue settlement of the North-Western Provinces, appeared to him to offer the stimulus of a direct interest for the acquisition of so much knowledge, at least of reading and writing, of the simple rules of arithmetic, and of land measurement, as would enable each man to look after his own rights.

93. He therefore organised a system of encouragement of indigenous schools by means of a constant inspection by zillah and purgannah visitors, under the superintendence of a visitor-general; while at the head-quarters of each tahsildar, a school was established for the purpose of teaching "reading and writing the vernacular languages, both Urdu and Hindi accounts, and the mensuration of land." A school house is provided by Government and the masters of the tahsili schools receive a small salary, and are further entitled to the tuition fees paid by the pupils, of whom none are educated gratuitously, except "on recommendation given by village school-masters who may be on the visitor's list." A certain sum is annually allotted to each zillah for the reward of deserving teachers and scholars; and the attention of the visitor-general was expressly directed to the preparation of elementary school-books in the vernacular language, which are sold through the agency of the zillah and the purgannah visitors. We shall be prepared to sanction the gradual extension of some such system as this to the other districts of the Agra Presidency, and we have already referred to,

it as the model by which the efforts of other Presidencies for the same object should be guided.

94. In the Presidency of Bombay the character of the education conveyed in the anglo-vernacular colleges is almost, if not quite, equal to that in Bengal; and the Elphinstone Institution is an instance of a college conducted in the main upon the principle of grant-in-aid, which we desire to see more extensively carried out. Considerable attention has also been paid in Bombay to education through the medium of the vernacular languages. It appears that 216 vernacular schools are under the management of the Board of Education, and that the number of pupils attending them is more than 12,000. There are three inspectors of the district schools, one of whom (Mahadeo Govind Shastri) is a native of India. The schools are reported to be improving, and masters trained in the Government colleges have been recently appointed to some of them with the happiest effect. These results are very creditable to the Presidency of Bombay; and we trust that each Government school will now be made a centre from which the indigenous schools of the adjacent districts may be inspected and encouraged.

95. As the new revenue settlement is extended in the Bombay Presidency there will, we apprehend, be found an inducement precisely similar to that which has been taken advantage of by Mr. Thomason, to make it the interest of the agricultural classes to acquire so much knowledge as will enable them to check the returns of the village accountants. We have learnt with satisfaction that the subject of gradually making some educational qualification necessary to the conformation of these hereditary officers is under the consideration of the Government of Bombay, and that a practical educational test is now insisted upon for persons employed in many offices under Government.

96. In Madras, where little has yet been done by Government to promote the education of the mass of the people, we

can only remark with satisfaction that the educational efforts of Christian missionaries have been more successful among the Tamil population than in any other part of India; and that the Presidency of Madras offers a fair field for the adoption of our scheme of education in its integrity by founding Government anglo-vernacular institutions only where no such places of instruction at present exist, which might, by grants-in-aid and other assistance, adequately supply the educational wants of the people. We also perceive with satisfaction that Mr. Daniel Elliot, in a recent and most able minute upon the subject of education, has stated that Mr. Thomason's plan for the encouragement of indigenous schools might readily be introduced into the Madras Presidency, where the riotwari settlement offers a similar practical inducement to the people for the acquisition of elementary knowledge.

97. We have now concluded the observations which we think it is necessary to address to you upon the subject of the education of the natives of India. We have declared that our object is to extend European knowledge throughout all classes of the people. We have shown that this object must be effected by means of the English language in the higher branches of instruction, and by that of the vernacular languages of India to the great mass of the people. We have directed such a system of general superintendence and inspection by Government to be established, as will, if properly carried out, give efficiency and uniformity to your efforts. We propose by the institution of universities to provide the highest test and encouragement of liberal education. By sanctioning grants-in-aid of private efforts, we hope to call to the assistance of Government private exertions and private liberality. The higher classes will now be gradually called upon to depend upon themselves; and your attention has been more especially directed to the education of the middle and lower classes, both by the establishment of fitting schools for this purpose and by means of a careful

encouragement of the native schools which exist, and have existed from time immemorial, in every village, and none of which perhaps cannot, in some degree, be made available to the end we have in view. We have noticed some particular points connected with education, and we have reviewed the condition of the different Presidencies in this respect, with a desire to point out what should be imitated, and what is wanting, in each.

98. We have only to add, in conclusion, that we commit this subject to you with a sincere belief that you will cordially co-operate with us in endeavouring to effect the great object we have in hand, and that we desire it should be authoritatively communicated to the principal officers of every district in India, that henceforth they are to consider it to be an important part of their duty, not only in that social intercourse with the natives of India, which we always learnt with pleasure that they maintain, but also with all the influence of their high position, to aid in the extension of education, and to support the inspectors of schools by every means in their power.

99. We believe that the measures we have determined upon are calculated to extend the benefits of education throughout India; but, at the same time, we must add that we are not sanguine enough to expect any sudden, or even speedy, results to follow from their adoption. To imbue a vast and ignorant population with a general desire for knowledge, and to take advantage of that desire, when excited, to improve the means for diffusing education amongst them, must be a work of many years; which, by the blessing of Divine Providence, may largely conduce to the moral and intellectual improvement of the mass of the natives of India.

100. As a Government, we can do no more than direct the efforts of the people, and aid them wherever they appear to require most assistance. The result depends more upon them.

than upon us ; and although we are fully aware that the measures we have now adopted will involve in the end a much larger expenditure upon education from the revenues of India, or, in other words, from the taxation of the people of India, than is at present so applied, we are convinced, with Sir Thomas Munroe, in words used many years since, that any expense which may be incurred for this object "*will be amply repaid by the improvement of the country ; for the general diffusion of knowledge is inseparably followed by more orderly habits. by increasing industry, by a taste for the comforts of life, by exertion to acquire them, and by the growing prosperity of the people.*"

We are, etc.

J. OLIPHANT.

E. MACNAGHTEN.

C. MILLS.

R. ELLIS.

T. W. HOBB.

W. J. EASTWICK.

R. D. MANGLES.

J. P. WILLOUGHBY

J. H. ASTELL.

F. CURRIE.

ESTABLISHMENT OF INDIAN UNIVERSITIES

RESOLUTION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

12th December, 1856.

1. In conformity with the directions of the Hon'ble Court of Directors, as contained in paras 24 to 35 of their Despatch in the Public Department, No. 49, dated the 19th July 1854, a Committee was appointed, on the 26th January 1855, to prepare a scheme for the establishment of Universities in the Presidency towns of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay.

2. When the Committee was appointed, some doubt was felt as to whether the Hon'ble Court desired the Government of India to proceed at once, on receiving the Report of the Committee, to the establishment of Universities, or whether they desired that a further reference should be made to them on the subject. This doubt has been removed by the Hon'ble Court, in their Despatch of the 27th June 1855 (para. 6) in which they say:—"We are of opinion, that all the measures necessary for the constitution of the Universities should, in the first instance, proceed directly from your Government, and we accordingly authorize you to proceed in the matter in such a way as may seem best to you, without further reference to us. We would only remark that we approve your intention that the Universities at the different Presidencies, should be formed on the same general *basis*, leaving it to the Senates of the several Universities to form the detailed rules, with such variations as local circumstances may render advisable."

3. The Committee having now submitted their Report, dated the 7th August last, the Governor General in Council

ESTABLISHMENT OF INDIAN UNIVERSITIES

RESOLUTION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

12th December, 1856.

1. In conformity with the directions of the Hon'ble Court of Directors, as contained in paras 24 to 35 of their Despatch in the Public Department, No. 49, dated the 19th July 1854, a Committee was appointed, on the 26th January 1855, to prepare a scheme for the establishment of Universities in the Presidency towns of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay.

2. When the Committee was appointed, some doubt was felt as to whether the Hon'ble Court desired the Government of India to proceed at once, on receiving the Report of the Committee, to the establishment of Universities, or whether they desired that a further reference should be made to them on the subject. This doubt has been removed by the Hon'ble Court, in their Despatch of the 27th June 1855 (para. 6) in which they say:—"We are of opinion, that all the measures necessary for the constitution of the Universities should, in the first instance, proceed directly from your Government, and we accordingly authorize you to proceed in the matter in such a way as may seem best to you, without further reference to us. We would only remark that we approve your intention that the Universities at the different Presidencies, should be formed on the same general basis, leaving it to the Senates of the several Universities to form the detailed rules, with such variations as local circumstances may render advisable."

3. The Committee having now submitted their Report, dated the 7th August last, the Governor General in Council

proceeds at once to take into consideration the establishment of the Universities at the three Presidency towns, in accordance with the views of the Hon'ble Court.

4. In the orders of the Government of India, appointing the Committee, it was observed, "that the details of a scheme, in accordance with the outline sketched in the Despatch, should be settled with as little delay as possible, so that Bills for the incorporation of the Universities at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay may, at the proper time, be brought into the Legislative Council and that Draft Rules for Examinations, for the grant of Degrees, and for other cognate matters, may be ready for discussions and adoption by the Senates so soon as those Bills are passed into Law". The Committee, therefore, though at the commencement of their proceedings they appointed a Sub-Committee to prepare the Drafts of Bills for the incorporation of the Universities, and though such Drafts were actually prepared, considered eventually "that this was a matter beyond their province, and that the appointment of the Senates, and the framing of Rules for their guidance, whether under the sanction of Law or otherwise, must rest, in the first instance at least, with the Governor General in Council." They have not, in short, dealt with the constitution of the Universities, or of the governing bodies, but have addressed themselves exclusively to the system of Examination for Entrance, Degrees and Honors in the several branches of Arts, Medicine, Law, and Civil Engineering.

5. The thanks of the Government are largely due to the Members of the Committee, for the careful and complete manner in which they have discharged their trust, amongst pressing avocations and claims upon their time, which, with many, can have left little room for additional labours. The work has been admirably performed, and the Governor General in Council has no hesitation in adopting, unreservedly, the scheme of the Committee, which, with few exceptions, is strictly in accordance with the views expressed by the Hon'ble Court, in their Des-

patch of 19th July, 1854, and by the Government of India in the letter appointing the Committee.

6. As regards the Examination upon Entrance, the Governor General in Council entirely agrees with the Committee in the opinion that it ought to be required. His Lordship in Council believes that the mode in which it is proposed to hold it, is the most convenient that could be adopted, and that the standard is fixed judiciously.

7. His Lordship in Council thinks that the Committee have given good reasons for not departing from the titles of Bachelor of Arts and Master of Arts, which are familiar, and have a recognized value in England and throughout Europe; and that they have done well in making the higher degree in itself the mark of Honors awarded.

8. In respect of the Examination for the first Degree, although it is with some distrust that the Governor General in Council expresses an opinion different from that formed by the Committee after careful consideration, His Lordship in Council is of opinion that conditions somewhat more precise might, with advantage, have been laid down as an indication of the minimum of acquirements which should entitle a candidate to that Degree.

9. According to the views of the Committee, this minimum is to be determined by the Examiners acting under the instructions of the Senate; and no doubt, whatever Rules the Committee might have framed, the application of them in practice, and a consistent adherence to them, would depend mainly upon the Examiners. Nevertheless, His Lordship in Council would have been glad if, without attempting to define accurately the minimum to be exacted in each branch of study (which, indeed, would be impracticable), it had been declared indispensably necessary that a thorough and perfect knowledge of some branches up to a certain point, or a complete mastery of certain recognized text-books, should be exhibited, not as in itself

sufficient to secure even a bare Degree, but as a *sine qua non* without which no Degree should be granted.

10. Mathematics up to a certain stage, or the elements of Logic as treated in the works of one or other standard writer, might be prescribed as subjects upon which the knowledge of the candidates would be as strictly and thoroughly tested, as in the case of their own Vernacular language a critical knowledge of which is wisely insisted upon.

11. The Governor General in Council considers that some such rule would be beneficial, as enjoining exactness and completeness of knowledge, and as indicating that, though the amount required is described as "moderate", that which is known should be known thoroughly. The habit of discursive reading, and the acquisition thereby of superficial knowledge, are always dangerously seductive to students, and are too often encouraged by teachers; and the wide range of study to which even those who aim at the lowest Degree are invited may increase the danger. That the range should be wide is, in itself, quite right; but the fact that it is so, seems to call for some counter-acting inducement to close and accurate study.

12. With these observations the Governor General in Council will leave the further consideration of this important point to the Senates.

13. The Governor General in Council cordially agrees in the decision to which the Committee have come in admitting the Evidences of Revealed Religion as contained in Butler's Analogy and Paley's Evidences, as one of the subjects which a candidate for Honors in the Mental and Moral Sciences may select for Examination. The subject being entirely optional, and consideration being had for the studies pursued in affiliated Institutions, in some of which Theology will hold a prominent place, His Lordship in Council cannot think that this will be deemed by the Hon'ble Court to be an infringement of the spirit of

their injunction that the Examination for Degrees should not include subjects connected with religious belief.

14. The rules by which Degrees in Medicine and in Civil Engineering are to be governed call for no observation.

15. It is recommended, that there shall be but one Degree in Law, and that a Degree in Arts shall be a necessary condition of obtaining it, provided that the standard of an ordinary Degree in Arts is not fixed so high as to make it too severe a test of the general education of Law student. The Governor General in Council is of opinion, that the standard of an ordinary Degree in Arts ought not to be, and is not in the Committee's Scheme, fixed so high as to give any reasonable ground for such an objection.

16. Whether a Degree in Law shall be made a condition of admission to the Bar, or to the Judicial Service of the Company, will be determined by the Government hereafter. The question must be decided solely upon a consideration of what may most conduce to a sound administration of the Law, and it would be quite premature to discuss it before the University has come into active operation, and has been proved. The course of study in the University has properly been fixed without reference to the decision which may be taken upon this point.

17. The Committee have recommended that the proceedings of the Senates of the several Universities should be subject to the control of a central authority, such as the Governor General in Council, so that general uniformity may be observed, and that, in the words of the Government "at each Presidency town, the same degree of acquirement, in every branch of knowledge, should entitle its possessor to the same kind of Academic Distinction and Honor." This will be very necessary. That the several Universities may differ from each other in respect of the particular branch of learning which each may most successfully cultivate, and that with time each will

assume a distinctive character and merits of its own, is very probable; but it is essential that the *Degrees and Honors* which each will have to confer should, respectively, mark the same amount of acquirement and merit.

18. For this purpose, and in order to preserve a general harmony of constitution, but with no desire to enforce rigorous uniformity in matters in which local considerations and the judgment of the Local Governments may beneficially have free scope, it will be necessary that the proceedings of each Senate should be reported to the Government of India, and that all Bye-laws and Regulations passed by them should receive the sanction of the Governor General in Council.

19. The Draft of a Bill for the incorporation of the University of Calcutta, with suitable adaptations for the other Presidencies, has been approved generally by the Governor General in Council, and will be placed in the hands of the Hon'ble Sir James Colville, whom it is proposed to name Vice-Chancellor of the University, with a request that His Honor will take charge of it in the Legislative Council.

20. The Governor General in Council is hereby pleased to declare, in anticipation of the Act of the Legislature, that the Governor General of India for the time being shall be Chancellor of the University of Calcutta, and that the Governors of Madras and Bombay for the time being shall be, respectively, the Chancellors of the Universities of Madras and Bombay, and that the Lieutenant Governors of Bengal and the North-Western Provinces, the Chief Justice of Bengal, the Bishop of Calcutta, and the Members of the Supreme Council of India, all for the time being, shall be ex-officio Fellows of the University of Calcutta.

21. His Lordship in Council is also pleased to appoint Sir James William Colville, Kt., Chief Justice of Her Majesty's Supreme Court of Judicature at Calcutta, and late President of

the Council of Education, to be the first Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta.

22. His Lordship in Council is also pleased to appoint the following persons to be Fellows of the University of Calcutta :—

*

*

23. The Vice-Chancellor and Fellows of the Madras and Bombay Universities will be appointed by the Governor in Council of Madras and Bombay, respectively. A list of the Vice-Chancellor and Fellows composing each Senate will be furnished to this Department by the Local Governments for communication to the Legislative Council, and insertion in the Acts of incorporation.

*

*

*

Ordered, that a copy of this Resolution be furnished to each of the Local Governments for information and guidance, and to the several Departments of the Government of India, for information and such further orders as may be necessary.

Ordered, that a copy of this Resolution be published in the Calcutta and Vernacular '*Gazettes*' for general information.

*

*

CECIL BEADON,
Secretary to the Government of India.

REPORT OF THE UNIVERSITY COMMITTEE

7th August, 1856.

On behalf of the Committee appointed by the late Governor General in Council, to prepare the details of a scheme for the establishment of Universities in the three Presidency towns, I have the honour to submit a Report of the proceedings of the Committee, from their appointment up to the present time, and

of the scheme which, after careful and mature deliberation, they have resolved to recommend.

2. As reported in Mr. Gordon Young's letter, of the 19th September 1855, the Committee, on being constituted under the orders of Government, conveyed in your letter No. 281, dated the 26th January last, met and resolved itself into the following Sub-Committees:—

First:—A Sub-Committee for preparing Drafts of such Bill or Bills as may be necessary for the incorporation of the University.

Second:—A Sub-Committee for preparing Drafts Rules for Examinations for the grant of Degrees, and for other cognate matters, in the Faculty of Arts.

Third:—A Sub-Committee for preparing similar Draft Rules, etc., in the Faculty of Medicine.

Fourth:—A Sub-Committee for preparing similar Draft Rules, etc., in the Faculty of Law.

Fifth:—A Sub-Committee for preparing similar Draft Rules, etc., in the Faculty of Civil Engineering.

3. The first Reports of the several Sub-Committees in Arts, Medicine, Law, and Civil Engineering, were sent to the Governments of the several Presidencies, Bengal, Madras, Bombay, and the North-Western Provinces, for such observations as they might desire to offer on the plans thus presented, as it were, in the rough. The replies of the several Governments, together with remarks from the various local authorities whom they consulted, when received, were printed and referred for further report to the Sub-Committees. The Sub-Committees, after re-considering the former Reports in connexion with the observations which had been made thereon by the authorities of the several Presidencies, submitted their second and final Reports which were duly considered by the Committee on the 9th of July.

the Council of Education, to be the first Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta.

22. His Lordship in Council is also pleased to appoint the following persons to be Fellows of the University of Calcutta :—

*

*

*

23. The Vice-Chancellor and Fellows of the Madras and Bombay Universities will be appointed by the Governor in Council of Madras and Bombay, respectively. A list of the Vice-Chancellor and Fellows composing each Senate will be furnished to this Department by the Local Governments for communication to the Legislative Council, and insertion in the Acts of incorporation.

*

*

*

Ordered, that a copy of this Resolution be furnished to each of the Local Governments for information and guidance, and to the several Departments of the Government of India, for information and such further orders as may be necessary.

Ordered, that a copy of this Resolution be published in the Calcutta and Vernacular '*Gazettes*' for general information.

*

*

*

CECIL BEADON,
Secretary to the Government of India.

REPORT OF THE UNIVERSITY COMMITTEE

7th August, 1856.

On behalf of the Committee appointed by the late Governor General in Council, to prepare the details of a scheme for the establishment of Universities in the three Presidency towns, I have the honour to submit a Report of the proceedings of the Committee, from their appointment up to the present time, and

of the scheme which, after careful and mature deliberation, they have resolved to recommend.

2. As reported in Mr. Gordon Young's letter, of the 19th September 1855, the Committee, on being constituted under the orders of Government, conveyed in your letter No. 281, dated the 26th January last, met and resolved itself into the following Sub-Committees:—

First:—A Sub-Committee for preparing Drafts of such Bill or Bills as may be necessary for the incorporation of the University.

Second:—A Sub-Committee for preparing Drafts Rules for Examinations for the grant of Degrees, and for other cognate matters, in the Faculty of Arts.

Third:—A Sub-Committee for preparing similar Draft Rules, etc., in the Faculty of Medicine.

Fourth:—A Sub-Committee for preparing similar Draft Rules, etc., in the Faculty of Law.

Fifth:—A Sub-Committee for preparing similar Draft Rules, etc., in the Faculty of Civil Engineering.

3. The first Reports of the several Sub-Committees in Arts, Medicine, Law, and Civil Engineering, were sent to the Governments of the several Presidencies, Bengal, Madras, Bombay, and the North-Western Provinces, for such observations as they might desire to offer on the plans thus presented, as it were, in the rough. The replies of the several Governments, together with remarks from the various local authorities whom they consulted, when received, were printed and referred for further report to the Sub-Committees. The Sub-Committees, after re-considering the former Reports in connexion with the observations which had been made thereon by the authorities of the several Presidencies, submitted their second and final Reports which were duly considered by the Committee on the 9th of July.

remarked, with reference to a suggestion which had been made that there should be two Degrees in each of the subjects embraced in the design of an Indian University, that "any *one* Degree of the very low standard which seems to be contemplated by the Hon'ble Court," that is to say, a standard below that of the Senior Government Scholarships, "would be of little value," and His Lordship in Council also left it to the Committee to consider what titles should be assigned to the several Degrees, but expressed doubts "of the expediency of adopting, in the Universities of India, the nomenclature which has, from long usage, become peculiar to the Universities of England."

10. I now proceed to explain, in a general way, so far as the Reports of the Sub-Committees leave explanation necessary, the Scheme of an University which the Committee deems suited to the present requirements of Calcutta, and which they believe may be made applicable, without any alterations of moment, to the other Presidency towns.

11. Broadly stated, the plan of the University is as follows:—

IN ARTS

1st.—An Entrance Examination (to be held simultaneously in most of the chief towns of the Presidency,) to which all candidates may be admitted on payment of a fee, provided they be sixteen years old or upwards, and of good moral character.

2nd.—An Examination for the Degree of Bachelor of Arts (B.A.) (to be held at the Presidency town,) to which candidates may be admitted on payment of a fee, and on certificate of four, or, in special cases, three years' study, and of good moral conduct, in an affiliated Institution.

3rd.—An Examination for Honors in any one or more of five branches of knowledge, to be held immediately after the Examination for the Degree of B. A.

4th.—The Degree of Master of Arts (M.A.) conferred upon those who pass the Honor Examination, either immediately after the Examination for the B. A. Degree, or at any other time.

IN MEDICINE

1st.—An Examination in the theoretical branches of Medical Science, to which all candidates may be admitted who have passed the Entrance Examination in Arts, and have been engaged in Medical studies for two years in a recognized School.

2nd.—An Examination for the Degree of Licentiate in Medicine (L. M.,) to which candidates may be admitted who have passed the first Examination, and who have been since engaged in Medical studies for three years in a recognized School.

3rd.—An Examination for Honors in any one or more of the chief branches of Medical Science, to be held immediately after the Examination for the Degree of Licentiate.

4th.—An Examination for the Degree of Doctor in Medicine (M. D.,) to which only such candidates may be admitted as have taken the Degree of B. A., and have been engaged for two years in the study or practice of Medicine after taking the Degree of Licentiate.

IN LAW

1st.—An Examination for the Degree of Bachelor of Laws (B. L.) to which all candidates may be admitted after one year from the date of obtaining a Degree in Arts, provided they have attended lectures in a recognized School of Law for three years.

2nd.—An Examination for Honors, to be held at a convenient time after the preceding Examination.

IN CIVIL ENGINEERING

1st.—An Examination for the Degree of Master of Civil Engineering (M.C.E.,) to which all candidates may be admitted who have obtained the Degree of B. A., and have since passed four years in the study and practice of the profession.

adopted. The Sub-Committee have observed that the papers set should be moderately high, so as to afford evidence of considerable progress and fitness for Honors in the best of the candidates; but that a moderate amount of knowledge in each branch should suffice to secure a Degree. This is the view which the Committee take of the principle which ought to regulate the fixing of a standard and the mode of working it. The declared standard, as the Committee think, should be a maximum, such as to indicate, in each branch, the highest amount of knowledge which a student, of ordinary capacity, may be expected to acquire in a four years' course of study: while the minimum of competence entitling to a Degree should, in the opinion of the Committee, be determined by the Examiners acting under the instructions of the Senate. Apart from the advantage of placing before the students in general, and not only the most capable portion of them, an object worthy of their best exertions, it seems that in no other way can a fair advantage be so well given to a student, whose inclination leads him to prefer one branch of knowledge to another, an inclination which the Committee think it desirable to encourage as much as possible. Supposing, for instance, that the maximum number of marks in each branch is 100, making 500 in all, and that the minimum of competence in each branch is 25, making 125 in all, it is clear that, if the standard be low, the student who has an average fair knowledge of all or most of the subjects, in excess of the minimum, will have an advantage over the student who has reached perfection in one or two branches, and has made but moderate progress in excess of the minimum in the rest; while, if the standard be high, the advantage, as it

Languages.....	100
History.....	100
Mathematics.....	100
Natural Sciences.....	100
Mental Sciences.....	100

500

ought to be, will be the other way. To an ambitious student, it will be but a small consolation to take high Honors in any given branch, if he occupies a low place in the general Degree Examination : and yet if the standard for the Degree be low, he must, in order to take a high place in the first division, pursue a course of study uncongenial to his tastes, and such as to disqualify him for the place he might otherwise take in the Honor classes. A moderate minimum, in all branches, is necessary, both for students of generally inferior capacity, and for students of good capacity who devote themselves to one branch of knowledge to the exclusion of others, and this minimum will be determined by the Examiners ; but the standard which fixes a maximum, should be high, not only for the credit of the University, but as a means of honorable excitement to those who *aspire to its distinctions*. In a word, a low standard encourages mediocrity, a high standard genius.

18. For Honors after the Degree of B. A., the Sub-Committee proposes a Scheme of Examination in five distinct branches, viz., (1) Languages, (2) History, (3) Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, (4) Natural History and the Physical Sciences, and (5) Mental and Moral Sciences. The nature of the Examination is sufficiently explained in the Sub-Committee's Report, and in the Scheme appended thereto. It differs from the London University Scheme, in assigning a separate branch to History, including therein Political Philosophy and Political Economy, and in establishing an Examination in the Mental and Moral Sciences, which is there reserved for the M. A. Degree. Under this last head, it is proposed to examine the students in four* subjects, which are to be compulsory, and in

Logic.

Philosophy of Rhetoric.

Natural Theology.

Moral and Mental Philosophy.

one, which is to be left to the selection of the candidate from the following list :—

- (a) Philosophy of the Inductive Science---
- (b) Elements of Jurisprudence.
- (c) Philosophy of Education.
- (d) Evidences of Revealed Religion, as in Paley and Butler.

In the principle of this, the Committee entirely agree. A doubt has been felt, whether the introduction, though only optional, of a subject connected with Religion even in the Examination for Honors, may not be opposed to the strict terms of paragraph 28 of the Hon'ble Court's Despatch; but the Committee think that the concession is no more than fair to those Schools in which a considerable portion of the time of the students is taken up with a subject which would otherwise avail them nothing in their competition for University Honors, and that such a concession may be unobjectionably made to the earnest desire of those who, after the Government itself, are the chief promoters of secular education in India. There is an analogy between this optional Examination in the evidences of Revealed Religion, and Examination in the Old and New Testament and Scripture History to which those who have obtained the Degree of B. A. may be admitted in the London University.

19. It is not proposed to hold a separate Examination for the Master's Degree, but it is intended, that every student who passes the Honor Examination in any one or more branches, immediately after passing the B. A. Examination, should at once have the Degree of Master of Arts gratuitously conferred upon him, and that students who may be able to pass the Honor Examination in any branch, at any subsequent time, should have the same Degree on payment of a fee.

20. The Scheme of Medicine, which the Committee propose, is generally the same as that adopted at the London University, the main points of difference being that candidates for the Licentiate's Degree may commence their professional studies immediately on passing the Entrance Examination, instead of waiting, as at London, two years for the B. A. Degree, and that the course of study necessary for the Licentiate's Degree is extended from four to five years, in accordance with the practice of the Medical Schools in India, and to compensate for the comparatively early age at which Medical studies commence in this country. Two years of this course are given to theoretical and three to practical subjects; an examination is to be held in theoretical subjects after the two first years of the course, but it is not proposed to give Honors at that time; and a further Examination for the Degree is to be held at the end of the course.

21. For the Degree of Doctor of Medicine, it is proposed to require that the candidate shall have obtained not only the Degree of Licentiate or its equivalent, but also the Degree of Bachelor of Arts. It is thought desirable to limit the grant of this Degree to persons who have passed through the usual course of academical instruction, and may be supposed to possess a considerable amount of general, as well as professional knowledge. The Degree, it is expected, will usually be obtained by students who, passing the Entrance Examination at 16 and the B. A. Examination at 19 (for which special provision is made in the Art's Scheme,) commence their Medical Studies, either immediately afterwards, or perhaps simultaneously with their general studies during the last one or two years of the course, and pass the Examination for the Licentiate's Degree at the age of 24, or, in some instances, of 22 or 23. Such students, after two years' further study or practice of Medicine, will be qualified to pass for the higher Degree, but it is not unlikely that some students may complete their medical course in the first instance, and afterwards undergo the three years course of general study,

17. If it must be admitted, previously to 1854, the subject of Vernacular education had not received in every part of India the full amount of attention which it merited, there can be no doubt, that since the wishes of the Home Authorities have been so plainly declared, the officers of the Department of Education, acting under the orders of the several Governments, have spared no pains to bring into operation, throughout the districts entrusted to their superintendence, such measures as appeared most likely to place within reach of the general population the means of obtaining the education suited to their circumstances in life.

18. The modes of action which have been adopted in the several Presidencies exhibited, however, considerable diversity.

19. In the North-Western Provinces it was found that, although the schools established at the tehsheel-stations had been very successful, so far as regarded the attendance of the children in those towns, the inhabitants of the surrounding districts had not shared in the advantages of them to any considerable extent. A system of hulkabundee, or circle schools, had been accordingly devised previously to 1854 for the special purpose of meeting the wants of the agricultural population. Under this system, several villages conveniently situated for the purpose are grouped together, and in a central situation a school is established, which is not to be more than two miles distant from any of the villages forming the circle. For the support of these schools, the consent of the land-owners was to be obtained to the appropriation of a small percentage on the amount of the Government revenue, one per cent, being the amount paid, of which half was to be contributed by the landowners and half by the Government. The voluntary consent of the landowners was prescribed as an indispensable condition of the establishment of the system in any locality; and at the time of the outbreak in the North-Western.

EDUCATIONAL DESPATCH OF 1859

FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA

7th April, 1859.

The time seems to have arrived when some examination may be instituted into the operation of the orders despatched from this country in 1854 for the prosecution of measures on a more extended scale for promoting Education in India. Such an examination seems more especially required since the measures, and particularly the more recent measures, of Government for the promotion of Education have been alleged to be among the causes which have brought the recent outbreak in the army of Bengal, and the disquietude and apprehension which are believed to have prevailed in some portions of Her Majesty's Indian territories.

2. I have caused the records of the Department of Education to be examined, in order to trace the operation of the measures prescribed by the orders of the Home Authorities of July 1854, and to ascertain whether any grounds can be discovered for the allegation and impression referred to; and I now proceed to state the results of the examination thus instituted, as the basis of the remarks which I shall have to offer on the subject, and of the further inquiries which appear necessary before Her Majesty's Government can arrive at a conclusive opinion on some of the questions involved in it.

3. The improvement and far wider extension of Education both English and Vernacular, having been the general objects of the despatch of 1854, the means prescribed for the accomplishment of those objects were the constitution of a separate Department of the Administration for the work of Education; the institution of universities at the several Presidency towns;

establishment of training institutions for raising up teachers for the various classes of schools; the maintenance of the existing Government colleges and schools of a high order, and the increase of their number when necessary; the establishment of additional zilla or middle schools, increased attention to Vernacular schools for elementary education, including the indigenous schools already existing throughout the country; and, finally, the introduction of a system of grants-in-aid, under which the efforts of private individuals and of local communities would be stimulated and encouraged by pecuniary grants from Government, in consideration of a good secular education being afforded in the aided schools.

4. The first step taken in execution of the Court's instructions was the formation of the establishments by means of which the desired extension was to be given to the work of Education; an officer, with the title of Director of Public Instruction, was accordingly appointed to each of the Presidencies and Lieutenant Governorships, and to the Punjab, to whom the superintendence of the work of education was entrusted; and under these officers a staff of inspectors and sub-inspectors was organised, who were, in effect, to act in their several spheres as the local representatives of the Directors. The annual cost of these controlling establishments is appropriately shown in the foot note.*

5. As regards the persons by whom appointments in the Department of Education are to be held; it was thought by the

* Formation of an Education Department. Authorised Establishment.

Bengal	...	Rs. 13,711 per month
N. W. P.	...	„ 8,115 „
Punjab	...	„ 5,335 „
Madras	...	„ 8,821 „
Bombay including Sindh	...	„ 8,926 „
		<hr/> Rs. 44,908

Or Rs. 538,896 per annum.

Court of Directors that the first heads of the Department, as well as some of the inspectors, should be members of the Civil Service, both to show the importance attached to the subject of Education and the estimation in which it was desired that the officers of the Department should be held, and because among the members of that service the best qualified persons would be most likely to be met with. But at the same time it was directed that none of the appointments should be reserved for the members of the covenanted service, to the exclusion of others, either Europeans or natives, who might be better qualified to fill them; and the great importance was pointed out of selecting persons not only qualified for the duties of the Department, but calculated also to command the confidence of the natives. The spirit of the instructions of the Court of Directors with regard to the classes from which the officers of the Department were to be selected, appears to have been duly observed. In Bengal, North-Western Provinces, Madras and Bombay, members of the Civil Service were in the first instance appointed Directors of Public Instruction; and the several appointments of inspectors were filled indiscriminately by civil servants, military and medical officers, and individuals unconnected with any of those services. In the Punjab, the office of Director has from the first been held by a gentleman who was at the time of his nomination in the military service, but who retired from the army immediately on appointment. In Bombay, the first Director, Mr. Erskine, has been succeeded by a gentleman who was previously a practising barrister; and among the present inspectors it is believed that there are not in all the Presidencies more than two or three members of the Civil Service.

6. The universities have been constituted, as desired by the Court, on the general plan of the University of London. The scheme provides for an entrance examination; for the training of the passed candidates at affiliated institutions: for grant of degrees

in Arts, Medicine, Law, and Civil Engineering, and for the examination for Honors of those who have obtained the degree of Bachelor of Arts, the passing of which will carry with it the higher degree of Master of Arts.

7. At the first entrance examination to the Calcutta University, held in March 1857, 162 candidates successfully passed the test for admission, of whom 113 were pupils from Government colleges and schools, and 45 from institutions supported by individuals or associations, the remaining 4 being masters in Government schools. At the examination for Degree in April 1858, two Degrees of Bachelor of Arts were conferred, there having been 13 candidates. At the entrance examination held about the same time, 111 candidates out of 464 were admitted into the University. These results led the Faculty of Arts to propose some changes in the subjects and standards of the several examinations, the object being to reduce the severity of the tests to be passed. The alterations were proposed, and were apparently sanctioned by Government, on the ground that the tests for degrees, as originally fixed, were too high to be compatible with the object of the University entrance and degree examinations, which was to pass every student of ordinary ability who had fairly profited by the curriculum of school and college study which he has passed through. The constitution of the universities of Madras and Bombay has only recently been completed, and no report of admissions into those institutions has yet been received by me.

8. Apart from the colleges for special branches of study, such as Medicine and Civil Engineering, there were the following Government colleges in Bengal when the orders of 1854 were brought into operation, viz., the Presidency College, which had just been remodelled and placed on a footing of great efficiency, the Sanskrit or Hindoo College, and the Madrissa or

Government
Colleges and
Schools.

Mahomedan College at Calcutta, and Collèges at Berhampore, Dacca, Hooghly, and Kishnaghur. The Sanskrit College and the Madrissa are specially, and in the first instance were exclusively, intended for the cultivation of Oriental learning; the other colleges are designed for the promotion and advancement of general education through the medium of the English language. In the North-Western Provinces Government colleges existed at Agra, Delhi, Benares and Bareilly, all of which were constituted to afford education of a high order through the medium of the English language; the study of Sanskrit being cultivated, however, with great success at Benares, and the study of the Vernacular forming part of the course at all the colleges. In the Madras Presidency the only Government institution at which education of an advanced character was afforded, was the "University" or, as it might more properly have been designated, the High School at Madras. At Bombay, the Elphinstone Institution at the Presidency, and the college at Poona, were institutions where the means of education had been provided on a liberal scale by means of English professors of high qualifications.

9. At the anglo-vernacular colleges in the two divisions of the Bengal Presidency, the education may, on the whole, be considered to have been very efficient; the studies pursued take a high range and the success of the students at the examinations for college distinction shows that a fair proportion had benefited by the opportunities they had enjoyed, and had attained to a considerable degree of proficiency in the various branches of study. The recent substitution of independent examiners for the professors or other officers attached to the colleges, by whom the examinations were formerly conducted, has not been found to alter the character of the reports, which are still very favourable. No change in the constitution of the Government colleges in Bengal was called for by the Court's orders of 1854, nor, as far as can be ascertained, is there any material difference between

the numbers attending the colleges in the Lower Provinces* in 1854-55, and those in 1856-57, the latest period for which returns have been received. No reports respecting education in the North-Western Provinces have been received for a later period than the year 1854-55.

10. In Madras the High School has been remodelled and formed into an institution somewhat resembling the Presidency College at Calcutta, but in consequence of the less advanced state of education throughout the Presidency generally, the Madras College does not take so high a range, and partakes less of a collegiate character. In the province, four provincial schools have been established, which, it is hoped, will eventually be formed into provincial colleges, and which will give an education qualifying for admission into the higher institution at Madras.

11. In Bombay, where provision, as above remarked, was made for imparting an education of a high order in the two Government or quasi-Government collegiate institutions, the favourable impressions which formerly prevailed, founded on the reports of the annual examinations as to the results of the course of instruction pursued in them, have recently been much diminished. The students trained in the institutions in question, on being subjected to the test of an examination conducted by individuals unconnected with the colleges, have been found to fail in so many of the most ordinary and essential qualities of well-trained scholars, that it can only be supposed that the reports of former years had led to a very erroneous estimate of the acquirements of the students who had then passed the examination. The disappointment arising from this discovery was felt not only by those who had interested themselves in the promotion of general education, but also by all those classes from which the students of the colleges in question have been heretofore

* "Lower Provinces" here means Behar and Orissa.

supplied; and the result has been a great falling off in the attendance at both the Elphinstone Institution and the Poona College. Efforts have been made to remove this feeling, as well as to improve the course of instruction in the colleges, and it is understood that the number of students is now gradually increasing. It may be remarked that the failures thus brought to light resulted from a course of instruction arranged long before Government assumed the direct control of educational operations at Bombay, and that the exposure of the delusive system pursued was in fact brought about by the more close attention paid to the subject, in consequence of the organization of the Department of Education.

12. It was provided by the scheme of 1854, that below the colleges there should be classes in schools in regular gradations, which should be placed in connection with the colleges and with each other by means of scholarships, to be held in the superior institutions by pupils gaining them at the schools immediately below them.

English and
Anglo-Vernacular
Schools.

13. The Government schools next in order to the colleges, and from which the supply of pupils for these institutions would naturally come, are not, in all the Presidencies, formed precisely on the same plan nor do they in all localities bear the same designation being denominated respectively Provincial schools, Collegiate schools, High schools, Zillah schools or merely Government Anglo-Vernacular schools. In Bengal the expense of these schools is for the most part defrayed wholly from the public revenues, except so far as it may be met by the payments of the pupils, and other small sources of income which arise at some of the schools. In the North-Western Provinces few schools of this class are maintained, the question of the best mode of supplying the larger towns generally with schools not having been determined by Government when the recent distur-

bances broke out. Of the existing schools, the greater number are supported by missionaries, to a few of which grants-in-aid had been made previously to the out-break of the mutiny. In Madras four provincial schools and a few zillah schools have been constituted; but the education of the character which these classes of schools are designed to afford is provided to a considerable extent by missionary societies, whose schools since the grant-in-aid system has been in operation, have been extended and improved by means of grants from Government. In Bombay there are four schools which might perhaps rank with the Madras provincial schools, and which are fitted to prepare pupils for entrance into the college; and there are besides, Government English or Anglo-Vernacular schools in many of the districts, corresponding in their general aim and scope with the Zillah schools of Bengal.

14. Few additions, except in the Madras Presidency, have as yet been made to the number of Government English or Anglo-Vernacular schools since 1854. The schools, however, are believed to be generally popular, and the numbers attending them show perhaps as great an increase as could have been expected. On the whole, it may be assumed, with respect to this class of schools, that though there is a considerable difference in the efficiency of schools which it comprises, and though the line which separates it from the class of schools next below it may not be very clearly marked, it nevertheless, so far as the influence of the schools extends, constitutes an effective link in that chain of educational institutions which it was the desire of the Court of Directors to render general throughout India.

15. Measures for the extension and improvement of Vernacular education had been sometime in progress, with more or less activity, in different parts of India, when the Home Authorities in 1854, declared their wishes for the prosecution of the object.

in a more systematic manner, and placed the subject on a level, in point of importance, with that of instruction to be afforded through the medium of the English language.

16. In the North-Western Provinces active measures had been taken by the Lieutenant Governor, the late lamented Mr. Thomason, for the accomplishment of the object. A system had been framed by that gentleman, and brought into active operation, with the full approval of the Court of Directors, which provided for the establishment of a model school at the head-quarters of each tehsildar, for the encouragement of the masters of indigenous schools to improve themselves and to adopt improved methods of teaching, and for the regular inspections of the whole machinery by visitors of different grades, superintended by a visitor general—an office to which a highly qualified civil servant was appointed. This system had not been extended to all the districts previously to 1854, but it had been attended with such an amount of success that authority was given in 1855-56 for bringing it into operation throughout the whole of the North-Western Provinces. In Bengal, a number of Vernacular schools had been established several years previously, but whether from the low qualifications of the master, or from the want of responsible superintendence, they had failed

17. If it must be admitted, previously to 1854, the subject of Vernacular education had not received in every part of India the full amount of attention which it merited, there can be no doubt, that since the wishes of the Home Authorities have been so plainly declared, the officers of the Department of Education, acting under the orders of the several Governments, have spared no pains to bring into operation, throughout the districts entrusted to their superintendence, such measures as appeared most likely to place within reach of the general population the means of obtaining the education suited to their circumstances in life.

18. The modes of action which have been adopted in the several Presidencies exhibited, however, considerable diversity.

19. In the North-Western Provinces it was found that, although the schools established at the tehsheel stations had been very successful, so far as regarded the attendance of the children in those towns, the inhabitants of the surrounding districts had not shared in the advantages of them to any considerable extent. A system of hulkabundee, or circle schools, had been accordingly devised previously to 1854 for the special purpose of meeting the wants of the agricultural population. Under this system, several villages conveniently situated for the purpose are grouped together, and in a central situation a school is established, which is not to be more than two miles distant from any of the villages forming the circle. For the support of these schools, the consent of the land-owners was to be obtained to the appropriation of a small percentage on the amount of the Government revenue, one per cent. being the amount paid, of which half was to be contributed by the landowners and half by the Government. The voluntary consent of the landowners was prescribed as an indispensable condition of the establishment of the system in any locality; and at the time of the outbreak in the North-Western

Provinces in 1857, the requisite assent had been given to the scheme in many of the districts, and the sanction of the Home Authorities had been accorded (in 1856) to the proposal of the local Government that in the re-settlement of the land revenue, the new plan should be universally introduced, and one per cent. on the Government demand should be set apart in all the districts for the support of this hulkabundee system. It was calculated that when all the districts should have been re-settled (which should not have been till 1874), Rs. 4,00,000 or £ 40,000 per annum, would be available, one-half of which, or Rs. 2,00,000, would be borne by Government.

20. These measures have necessarily been deranged by recent occurrences, and to what extent the machinery may have been brought into renewed action in the districts where order has been re-established, no information has been afforded.

21. In the Lower Provinces of Bengal, several plans for promoting vernacular education have been simultaneously introduced. In some of the districts, Mr. Thomason's plan, founded on the encouragement of indigenous schools by periodical inspection and by rewards, was brought into operation. In others, it was attempted to accomplish the object under the grant-in-aid rules, and in those districts a considerable number of schools have been established on that principle. Great difficulties, however, were encountered in obtaining local assistance and support; and the conclusion arrived at, after the experience of two or three years, by Mr. Pratt, the Inspector, who most perseveringly followed this course of proceeding, was that it was vain to hope to base any general scheme of popular education, at least in the greater part of Bengal, on the grant-in-aid system under the prescribed rules. The Inspector of the Eastern Education Division, Mr. Woodrow, had, *a priori*, arrived at a similar conclusion, and had struck out an altogether different course, to which he had obtained the sanction of Government.

The principle of his plan was to make use of the existing indigenous schools, and he proceeded by forming these schools into circles of three, four, or five and attaching to each circle a well qualified teacher, to be paid by Government, whose duty it would be to go from school to school, instructing village schoolmasters in their duties, and imparting instruction in the higher subjects to the more advanced pupils; encouragement being given to both masters and pupils by the prospect of small pecuniary rewards. This plan has so far been found very successful, and it is proposed to extend it to others of the educational divisions.

22. In Bombay, the education officers have continued to prosecute the plan previously in force of forming vernacular schools on a partially self-supporting plan; it being intended, however, to introduce gradually the plan of "circle" schools of a somewhat superior class. One peculiarity of the system pursued at Bombay is, that the schools maintained at the joint expense of Government and of the local community are constituted as Government schools, instead of remaining, like those under the grant-in-aid rules, private schools receiving a grant from Government. The question of a change in this respect has been raised by the Government of India, and is still undetermined. In Madras, a plan of popular education was brought into operation in some of the talooks of the Rajahmundry district, resembling very much the hulkabundee system of the North-Western Provinces; but it is admitted that even if the plan could be maintained in Rajahmundry, and in districts similarly situated, it is inapplicable to districts under the revenue system prevailing generally in the Madras Presidency. A system has accordingly been lately sanctioned, as an experiment, in some of the Madras districts, based, like the plan of Mr. Woodrow in Bengal, on the improvement of existing village schools, and on the encouragement of the school-masters to self-improvement, by the promise of a reward to be given in books or in money at the discretion of the Director.

23. From the time that measures have been taken for promoting the progress of education in India great difficulty has been experienced from the want of efficient masters for the various classes of schools: masters have from time to time been sent out from England, not only for the higher appointments, but for the charge of middle schools; but it was evident to those engaged in the work of education, that even for this last class of schools it would be impossible except at an inordinate cost to supply the requisite number from this country, while for the vernacular schools, a local supply was manifestly indispensable. A normal class had accordingly been commenced at Bombay, and one had been included in the proposed arrangements at Madras when the Court's orders of 1854 reached India enjoining the establishment of normal schools in each Presidency, and promising to send out on application trained masters from this country to conduct them.

most of which are intended to supply teachers for Anglo-Vernacular, as well as for Vernacular schools.

25. It is well known that, even including the results of missionary exertions, little progress has yet been made with female education in India. The late Mr. Drinkwater Bethune, then President of the Council of Education, established at his own expense a school at Calcutta, for Hindoo female children of the higher classes, in 1850, the school was taken up and supported by the Marquis of Dalhousie, after Mr. Bethune's death, and on his Lordship's leaving India, it was assumed by Government, and is now supported at the public expense; it was at first attended by about 34 girls, but it did not afterwards show any great signs of vitality. It was placed in 1856 under a special committee of Hindoo gentlemen, presided over by Mr. Cecil Beadon, one of the secretaries to the Government of India, but no report has been received of the result of this arrangement.

26. The Court of Directors, when sanctioning the assumption by Government of the charge of Mr. Bethune's school, gave their cordial approval to the order of the Government of India that female education should be considered to be as much within the province of the Council of Education as any other branch of education and the Court's interest in the subject was further expressed in their despatch of July, 1854, in which it was moreover declared that schools for females were to be included in those to which grants-in-aid might be given. Female schools have since been established by the local community at Dacca and at Howrah, for which grants-in-aid have been sanctioned; and girls have been reported to be in attendance at a few of the Vernacular schools in the eastern educational division of Bengal, where the Inspector, Mr. Woodrow, has extended to the girls the rewards, on attaining a certain proficiency in the subjects taught in the schools, which are enjoyed by the boys.

At Mr. Woodrow stated there were "19 B 1

girls, all of good parentage," and he added that he had in his indigenous schools more girls than there were in the Bethune and Central School together. But though he was sanguine that the number would shortly be greatly increased, he remarked that it would be necessary that the means of instruction for girls should be provided by Government, as the people are opposed to the elevation of females from their present degraded position.

27. A movement in furtherance of female education in the Agra district was commenced by the Deputy Inspector of Schools, Gopal Singh, in 1855. The expense was, in the first instance, defrayed entirely from the public funds; "the agricultural classes though quite willing and ready to make use of the schools, were not then prepared to go further, and to pay the teacher." The schools were attended by scholars of all classes of Hindoos including a considerable proportion of Brahmins; and of the girls the age of some exceeded 20 years, the remainder being from 6 years old to 20. The masters were selected by the parents of the scholars, and committees of respectable native gentlemen were formed to exercise a general supervision over the schools, and to arrange for their visitation. The number of schools in the Agra district had risen in January, 1857, to 288, and the attendance of the girls was estimated at 4,927. It being desired at that time to carry out the experiment of female education in a more efficient manner, sanction was sought, and obtained, to the assignment of Rs. 8,000 as a direct grant from Government for female schools in the district, to meet an estimated expenditure on two hundred girls' schools of Rs. 13,200 per annum, the balance being provided from the halkabundee cess and from other sources.

29. A few girls' schools have been established in the Bombay Presidency. A native gentleman has founded two such schools, on a munificent scale, at Ahmedabad. At Poona, an association of native young men has established three female schools and one such a school has been set on foot by a native gentleman residing at Dharwar. It was the opinion of the Acting Educational Inspector of the Deccan Division, Captain Lester — that "the prejudices against female education were fast disappearing," and that "there will be no more difficulty found in establishing female schools than there is in those for boys."

30. Although the special interest of the Home Authorities and of the several Governments in India, in the work of female education, has been plainly declared, and though there is no reason to doubt that the officers of the Department have availed themselves of such opportunities as offered to promote the object, it would not appear that, except in the case of the Agra and the neighbouring districts, any active measures have been taken by the Department of Education for the establishment of female schools.

31. The following statement of the numbers attending the several classes of Government colleges and schools excluding female schools and institutions for special education has been compiled from the most recent reports:—

		Colleges	Superior schools	Inferior schools
Bengal	...	654	6,071	7,097
N. W. Provinces	...	1,370	550	6,588
Madras	...	290	1,332	1,769
Bombay	...	559	1,215	23,846

33. The introduction of this system was authorised from a regard to "the impossibility of Government alone doing all that must be done in order to provide adequate means for the education of the natives of India," and it was expected that the plan of "thus drawing support from local sources, in addition to contributions from the State," would result "in a far more rapid progress of education than would follow a mere increase of expenditure by the Government, while it possesses the additional advantage of fostering a spirit of reliance upon local exertions, and combination for local purpose which is of itself of no mean importance."

34. The system as authorised for India was to be "based on an entire abstinence from interference with the religious instruction conveyed in the schools assisted," and was to be given (within certain limits) to all schools which impart a good secular education, provided they are under adequate local management," are duly open to Government inspection, and are subjected to any other rules which may be prescribed by the Government notifications. In accordance with these views it was suggested that notifications should be promulgated announcing terms on which grants-in-aid would be made; and that in such notifications the principle of perfect neutrality, on which the grants were to be awarded should be distinctly asserted.

35. The injunctions of the Court of Directors as to the principles on which the grant-in-aid system was to be brought into operation, seem to have been carefully attended to in drafting the rules in accordance with which the grants were to be made; and every endeavour appears to have been used to carry out in practice the principles of perfect religious neutrality on which the system was declared to be based.

* Note:—"This was explained to mean 'one or more' persons such as private patrons, voluntary subscribers, or the trustees of endowments who will undertake the general superintendence of the schools and be answerable for its permanence for some given time."

36. The system has been applied in somewhat different ways in the several Presidencies and divisions of territory in India. In some of the educational districts in Bengal as already stated it has been extensively brought into operation in connection with Vernacular schools, in which cases it has been the native promoters of the schools who have brought the grants from Government. In the North-Western Provinces the assistance of Government was afforded to Vernacular education under special regulations and the "grants-in-aid system" technically so called, had, up-to the time of mutiny, been applied only to a few schools affording a superior education. In Madras, the grants under the grant-in-aid rules have been, for the most part, made to schools of a higher class; the expense of such Vernacular schools as have yet been provided being met in another way. In Bombay the information as to the actual carrying out of the system is insufficient to show the classes of schools which have benefited by it.*

* Note :—Amounts of grants-in-aid sanctioned up to 30th April, 1857.

<i>In Bengal.</i>				Per annum.
Missionary schools	...	...	Rs.	9,828
Other schools	...	...	„	68,604
Total			„	<u>78,432</u>
<i>In Madras.</i>				
Missionary schools	...	...	„	28,597
Other schools	...	...	„	<u>5,615</u>
Total			„	<u>34,212</u>

No statements received from the North-Western Provinces and Bombay. In Bengal the grants-in-aid have been further arranged in a tabular form as follows :—

			Rs.
English schools	...	...	35,916
Anglo-Vernacular schools	...	...	19,850
Vernacular schools	...	...	23,616

37. The private institutions for education of a higher order are throughout India, as a general rule, under European management. In the case of many of these institutions the grant-in-aid system has been made use of for the extension and improvement of the means of instruction. The conductors of such schools, both English and Anglo-Vernacular, have, generally speaking, shown no indisposition to avail themselves of Government assistance on the prescribed terms; and the efficiency and consequent usefulness of the aided schools has by means of the grants been greatly promoted. The higher English schools which have received grants are, for the most part, maintained in connection with missionary bodies for the obvious reason, that there are few other private schools existing in India at which a liberal English education is afforded. Assistance for the establishment or improvement of Anglo-Vernacular schools has on the other hand, been obtained to a great extent by natives, either individually, or in association; and in some cases proposals have been made by natives with a view to the formation of higher or collegiate schools, where the instruction was to be conveyed, by means of English, though from different causes no such institutions have yet been formed. But while the European managers of schools have freely accepted grants-in-aid from Government and equal readiness has been shown by the native community to seek assistance in the formation of schools where instruction in English may be afforded, no great alacrity appears to have been shown by the natives in making the necessary local efforts for securing the aid of Government under the grant-in-aid rules for the promotion of Vernacular education. It was attempted, as already observed by Mr. Pratt, in the Southern Bengal Division, to secure the requisite local co-operation, and by dint of great exertion, a considerable number of schools was established. But little value was attached by the general population in all the Bengal districts, to any education which was not likely, in the opinion of the people, to lead to a Government appointment, and

in many of the districts to any education whatever; and Mr. Pratt was in consequence forced to the conclusion that the grant-in-aid system, as carried out under the existing rules, could not be made the basis of any extended system of popular education, these rules being regarded by him as "out of place in a country where the value of education is utterly unfelt by the mass of the people, based as they are on the supposition that the people of this country are so desirous of an improved description of instruction that they will actually pay not only schooling fees, but contributions from their private resources." The following remarks of Mr. Woodrow are sufficient to show the concurrence of that gentleman in Mr. Pratt's conclusions: "The poorest classes do not want schools at all, because they are too poor to pay schooling fees and subscriptions, and because the labour of the children is required to enable them to live. The middle and upper classes will make no sort of sacrifice for the establishment of any but English schools. Yet the rules in force presume the highest appreciation of education, because based on the supposition that the people everywhere pay not only schooling-fees, but subscriptions for schools. In fact, we expect the peasantry and shopkeepers of Bengal to make sacrifices for education which the same classes in England often refuse to make." The opinion of the Bengal officers whose remarks have just been quoted, entirely corresponds with that formed by Mr. T. C. Hope, of the Bombay Civil Service, the active and intelligent Educational Inspector of the Guzerat division. The officer has described in strong terms the discouragement and loss of time sustained by him, in his attempts to secure the voluntary consent of the people to the establishment of schools under the grant-in-aid system, and the disappointment which frequently ensues on finding that when the requisite consent has with difficulty been obtained, persons who have acquiesced in the measure have drawn back from their engagements on being called on for payment of their subscriptions.

38. It would appear from the Education Report of Bengal for 1857-58, which has just reached me in an imperfect shape through an unofficial channel, that the Lieutenant-Governor concurs in the doubts expressed by the officers of the Department as to the success of the grant-in-aid system in respect to elementary education. "It has been found," he remarks, "that the great mass of the people is not likely to be reached by the present system, the rules apparently presuming greater general interest in the advancement of their inferiors than really exists among the wealthy classes of the natives, and larger contributions to the schools than can be afforded by the masses themselves, or are likely to be given for them by their more competent countrymen." At the same time, Mr. Halliday seems to agree in the opinion of Mr. Gordon Young, the Director of Public Instruction for Bengal, that by certain relaxations of the rules, the grant-in-aid-system might be made applicable to classes now practically excluded from the benefit of it; but the modifications proposed by Mr. Gordon Young are of such a nature that, if adopted, they would in effect do away with the distinctive characteristics of the system.

39. I now proceed to offer some observations on the facts which have been brought in the preceding review, and in doing so I shall, as far as possible, follow the order in which the several branches of the object are placed in the third paragraph of this despatch.

40. The Education Department seems to have been framed in general accordance with the instructions of the Court of Directors. The cost of the new establishments for managing the Department is no doubt large, as compared with the expenditure on the direct work of instruction; and though

Constitution of the new Department of Education.

Her Majesty's Government are not prepared to pronounce it excessive, nevertheless they are desirous that you should review the existing establishments, and carefully consider whether the cost of the controlling establishments bears more than a fair proportion to the expenditure of Government on direct measures for instruction, and whether such cost is properly susceptible of reduction.² In considering this question, it must be borne in mind that the duty of the controlling officers is not merely to superintend the institutions directly supported by Government; but that it is the business of the Department to exercise a close scrutiny into all the agencies in operation throughout the country for the instruction of the people; to point out deficiencies wherever they exist; to suggest remedies to Government; and bring the advantages of education before the minds of the various classes of the community; to act as the channel of communication on the subject between Government and the community at large; and generally to stimulate and promote, under the prescribed rules, all measures having for their object the secular education of the people. It is evident that a very inadequate opinion would be formed of the value of the agency responsible for these varied duties, from the mere comparison of its cost with that of the existing educational institutions of Government, especially when it is considered that it has been necessary to compare the controlling establishments at once on a complete footing with the establishments for direct instruction are naturally of slower growth.

41. After a full consideration of the grounds on which the Court of Directors formerly gave their sanction, as a temporary arrangement, to the employment of convenanted civil servants

in the Department of Education, Her Majesty's Government are, on the whole, of opinion that, as a general rule, all appointments in the Department of Education should be filled by individuals unconnected with the service of Government either civil or military. It is not their wish that officers now in the Department should be disturbed for the sole purpose of carrying out this rule, and they are aware that difficulty might at present be experienced in finding well qualified persons, unconnected with regular services, to fill vacant offices in the Department. But it is their desire that the rule now prescribed be kept steadily in view, and that every encouragement be given to persons of education to enter the educational service, even in the lower grades, by making it known that in the nominations to the higher offices in the Department, a preference will hereafter be given to those who may so enter it, if competent to discharge the duties.

42. The establishment of universities was not a measure calculated *per se* to excite apprehensions in the native mind. It did not in fact bring any new principle into operation being little more than an expansion of the arrangements which had for many years been in operation for testing the powers and attainments of the young men educated in the colleges and more advanced schools. No teaching of any sort was proposed to be given in connection with examinations for Degrees, in respect to which any difficulty might have arisen, *viz.*, that of reckoning the marks obtained by those candidates for Honours who might voluntarily submit themselves to examination in Paley's Evidences of Christianity and Butler's Analogy of Revealed Religion, the Home Authorities determined that such computation should not be allowed, and thus removed all possible ground of misapprehension.

43. No special instructions on the subject of the Universities seem at present to be called for.

44. The institution of training schools does not seem to have been carried out to the extent contemplated by Court of Directors. Her Majesty's Government agree in the remarks contained in the Despatch of July, 1854, as to the necessity of such institutions for Anglo-Vernacular as well as for Vernacular schools. All reports concur as to the want of trained masters in the schools in which English is taught, and as to the frequent inefficiency of the English teaching from the want of masters well acquainted with the language. It seems to be very seldom found practicable to secure in India the services of competent men, and the engagement of persons in this country appears, at present, the only available means of supplying the deficiency. This is evidently an expensive mode of proceeding, and it may be hoped that at no distant period institutions may be in operation at all the Presidencies, calculated to supply masters for all classes of schools, and thus in time greatly to limit if not altogether to obviate the necessity of recruiting the educational service by means of encouragements made in this country. I request that a definite statement may be furnished of the measures which you may propose to take for this purpose.

45. The Government Anglo-Vernacular colleges appear, on the whole, to be in a satisfactory state; and in those cases where defects have been found to exist measures are in progress for placing the institutions on a better footing.

46. The Government English and Anglo-Vernacular schools seem to be generally in a satisfactory state, and to be not unpopular with the native community. By the orders of 1854, the extension of a graduated system of these schools throughout the provinces of India was proposed to be accomplished by the establishment of a limited number of Government institutions of different

grades, or preferentially, by the encouragement of schools on the grant-in-aid plan; it being hoped that private schools, aided by Government, would eventually take the place universally of the several classes of Government institutions. I see no reason to make any change in the orders applicable to the class of schools which comes under this heading.

47. It appears that both the difficulties and the importance of female education are adequately appreciated by the officers of the Department of Education and no present orders respecting it seem, therefore, to be required. But Her Majesty's Government are desirous of being made acquainted with the opinion which you may be led to form as to the genuineness of the change of feeling which appears in some localities to have taken place regarding it, and as to the nature and degree of the influence which may safely and properly be exerted by the officers of the Department of Education to promote the extension of schools for females.

48. With regard to Vernacular education, it appears that, with the exception of the North-Western Provinces where provision had been made for the gradual extension of schools over the entire country, by the combined operation of Mr. Thomason's scheme of tehslee schools and the hulkabundee system, no general plan had been decided on in any of the presidencies. It is obvious that no general scheme of popular education could be framed which would be suitable for all parts of India. But in accordance with the course followed in the North-Western Provinces by Mr. Thomason, and in some of the Bengal districts by Mr. Woodrow, it is most important to make the greatest possible use of existing schools and of the masters to whom, however inefficient as teachers, the people have been accustomed to look up with respect.

49. The difficulties experienced by the officers of the Department of Education in establishing a general system of popular schools on the basis of the existing rules for the administration of grants-in-aid, has been already referred to. But apart from the difficulty, and in many cases the impossibility, of obtaining the local support required for the establishment of a school under the grants-in-aid system, it cannot be denied that the mere requisitions made for the purpose by the officers of the Education Department may have a tendency not only to create a prejudice against education, but also to render the Government itself unpopular. And besides the unpopularity likely to arise from the demands on the poorer members of the community, made in the way either of persuasion, or of authority, there can be no doubt that the dignity of the Government is compromised by its officers appearing in the light of importunate and often unsuccessful applicants for pecuniary contributions for objects which the Government is confessedly very anxious to promote.

50. On the whole Her Majesty's Government can entertain little doubt that the Grant-in-aid system, as hitherto in force, is unsuited to the supply of Vernacular education to the masses of the population: and it appears to them, so far as they have been able to form an opinion, that the means of elementary education should be provided by the direct instrumentality of the officers of Government according to some one of the plans in operation in Bengal and the North-Western Provinces or by such modification of those schemes as may commend itself to the several local Governments as best suited to the circumstances of different localities. Assuming that the task of providing the means of elementary Vernacular education for those who are unable to procure it for themselves is to be undertaken by the State, they are strongly of opinion that the officers of the Department of Education should be relieved from the onerous and invidious task of soliciting contributions for the support of these schools.

from classes whose means, for the most part, are extremely limited, and whose appreciation of the advantages of education does not dispose them to make sacrifices for obtaining it.

51. As regards the source from which the funds for elementary education should be obtained, it has been on different occasions proposed by officers connected with education that in order to avoid difficulties experienced in obtaining voluntary local support, an education rate should be imposed, from which the the cost of all schools throughout the country should be defrayed. And other officers, who have considered India to be as yet unprepared for such a measure, have regarded other arrangements as merely temporary and palliative, and the levy of a compulsory rate as the only really effective step to be taken for permanently supplying the deficiency.

52. The appropriation of a fixed proportion of the annual value of the land to the purpose of providing such means of education for the population immediately connected with the land, seems *per se* unobjectionable, and the application of a percentage for the construction and maintenance of roads appears to afford a suitable precedent for such an impost. In the North-Western Provinces the principle has already been acted on, though the plan has there been subjected to the important modification, that the Government shares the burden with the landholder, and that the consent of the latter shall be a necessary condition to the introduction of the arrangement in any locality. The several existing inspectors of schools in Bengal are of opinion that an education rate might without difficulty be introduced into that presidency, and it seems not improbable that the levy of such a rate, under the direct authority of the Government, would be acquiesced in with far more readiness and with less dislike than a nominally voluntary rate proposed by the local officers.

53. I am desirous that after due communication with the several local Governments, you should carefully consider the

subjects just discussed, and should furnish me with your opinion as to the necessity of relinquishing the existing grants-in-aid system as a means of providing popular Vernacular schools throughout the country, and as to the expediency of imposing a special rate to defray the expense of schools for the rural population.

54. The peculiar objections which have been shown to attach to the grants-in-aid system, when applied to Vernacular education, do not appear to extend to it in connection with English and Anglo-Vernacular schools. The conductors of existing schools of these kinds are generally anxious to obtain grants, and the Government and its officers are, therefore, not placed in the unbecoming position of unsuccessful applicants for pecuniary contribution towards a public object which the Government is known to be desirous to promote but which its influence is seen to be unable to secure.

55. On the other hand, the comparatively small number of scholars in the Government colleges and schools sufficiently shows what ample scope there is for every agency which can be brought in the field of educational labour, and the expediency of making use of, and fostering, all such agency as is likely to engage in the work with earnestness and efficiency. There can be no doubt of the great advantage of promoting in the native community a spirit of self-reliance, in opposition to the habit of depending on Government and its officers for supply of local wants; and if Government shall have undertaken the responsibility of placing within reach of the general population the means of a simple elementary education, those individuals or classes who require more than this, may, as a general rule, be left to exert themselves to procure it with or without the assistance of Government.

56. You are aware that, besides the other advantages of the plan of grants-in-aid, the authority of the Despatch of 1854

more particularly that of the reading of the Holy Scriptures, in the Government schools.

59. From the earliest period at which the British Government in India directed its attention to the subject of education, all its measures, in consistency with the policy which regulated its proceedings in other Departments of the State, have been based on the principle of perfect religious neutrality, in other words, on an abstinence from all interference with the religious feelings and practices of the natives, and on the exclusion of religious teaching from the Government schools. As a necessary part of this policy, the Holy Scriptures have been excluded from the course of teaching, but Bible has a place in school libraries, and the pupils are at liberty to study it, and to obtain instruction from their masters as to its facts and doctrines out of school hours, if they expressly desire it. This provision is displeasing to many of those who have interested themselves in the education of the people of India, and some of the missionaries especially are much dissatisfied with it, and are desirous that direct instruction in the Bible should be afforded in the Government schools as a part of the regular course of teaching. Some of the greatest friends of native education, however, who are warmly interested in missionary operations, declared themselves, before the Parliamentary Committees of 1853, to be averse to any change in the established policy of Government in this respect. The main argument of these gentlemen rested on the alarm and distrust which would probably be excited by the introduction of religious teaching into the Government schools even if attendance in the Bible classes were declared to be voluntary. But it was further observed, that it would not be honest to accept the consent of the people themselves to attend the classes, and that it was not probable that the assent of the parents would be given; and it was pointed out that most of the masters in the Government institutions are natives, and that instruction in the facts and doctrines of the Bible, given by heathen teachers, would not be likely to prove of much advantage.

60. It would certainly appear that the formation of a class for instruction in the Bible, even though attendance on it might be voluntary, would at any time be a measure of considerable hazard, and at best of doubtful countervailing advantage; more especially at the present time the introduction of change in this respect might be found peculiarly embarrassing. The proclamation of Her Majesty, on assuming the direct control of the Government of India, plainly declared that no interference with the religion of the people, or with their habits and usages, was to take place. Now, though in this country there might seem but a slight difference between the liberty enjoyed by the pupils to consult their teachers out of school hours with regard to the teaching of the Bible, and the formation of a class for affording such instruction in school hours to such as might choose to attend it, it is to be feared that the change would seem by no means a slight one to the natives of India, and that the proposed measure might, in a political point of view, be objectionable and dangerous, as tending to shake the confidence of the native community in the assurances of a strict adherence to past policy in respect to religious neutrality, which Her Majesty has been pleased to put forth.

61. The free resort of pupils of all classes to Government schools, even at times when unusual alarm has been excited in the minds of the natives, is a sufficient proof of the confidence which is felt in the promises of Government, that no interference with religious belief will be allowed in their schools, and this confidence Her Majesty's Government would be very reluctant to disturb by any change of system which might give occasion to misapprehension. They are unable, therefore, to sanction any modification of the rule of strict religious neutrality as it has hitherto been enforced in the Government schools, and it accordingly remains that, the Holy Scriptures being kept in the library, and being open to all pupils who may wish to study them, and the teachers being at liberty to afford instruction and expla-

nations regarding them to all who may voluntarily seek it, the course of study in all the Government institutions, confined to secular subjects.

62. It is my intention, in this Despatch, to confine my remarks to the subject of general education, and I, therefore, abstain from noticing the means of instruction in the special subjects of medicine, law, and civil engineering, which are afforded in the Government colleges at the different Presidencies. I will merely remark that through those institutions, a course of honourable occupation is opened out to those young men who, having obtained a certain amount of general education, apply themselves to any one of the special subjects of study and go through the prescribed examination. Some of the institutions have been in operation for many years, and a large number of native youth who have passed through them are engaged in the public service, and others are prosecuting the practice of their profession on their own account.

been specially referred to in this Despatch but shall embrace the whole subject of general education. They will expect to receive among other things, full statistical information as to the number of schools established since 1854, whether by Government, or with the aid of Government; the cost of the several schools; and the whole expense incurred by the Government under the various heads of controlling establishments, instructive establishments, and grants-in-aid; and also, so far as practicable, the number and character of schools unconnected with Government aid or control. The impressions which they have received, and the views they have expressed, are necessarily, from the want of sufficient information, stated with some reservation, and they will expect to receive from you the means of judging of the correctness of their conclusions together with a full and deliberate expression of your opinion as to the operation of the existing scheme of education in all its parts.

65. In conclusion, I have to call your attention to the question referred to at the commencement of this Despatch, *vis.*, that of the connection between the recent disturbances in India and the measures in progress for the prosecution of education. It is in the reports of a few of the officers of the Bengal Government that any official information is afforded on this point, and in them the evidence amounts but to little, and is confined to Behar. In that Province, previously to the outbreak, it was reported that some jealousy had been raised by the part taken by Government in the work of education; but it would appear that this jealousy had originated rather from a general indisposition to Government interference and from a vague feeling that the spread of knowledge itself is inconsistent with the maintenance of the native religions, than from special objection to any part of the Government scheme. In the reports from Behar since the commencement of the mutinies, the continued existence of such feelings is not mentioned, and the disposition of the people towards education is spoken of in less discouraging terms,

and it is satisfactory to find that in few cases had any schools been given up in consequence of the disturbances, though some schools had been suspended for a time by the presence of rebels in the village.

66. It is impossible to found any conclusion on information so manifestly insufficient as that which Her Majesty's Government possess, and they have, therefore, to commend this most important question to your careful consideration. It is obvious that measures, however good in themselves, must fail if unsuited to those for whose benefit they are intended; and it seems important, therefore, to learn whether any of the measures taken by Government in recent years to promote the education of the natives of India have been such as to afford just ground of suspicion or alarm; whether, notwithstanding the absence of any just ground of alarm, there has in fact existed a misunderstanding of the intentions of Government with regard to their measures which excited apprehensions, however unfounded; and whether any, and what, alterations of existing arrangements can be devised by which, without drawing back from the great duty so deliberately affirmed in the Despatch of the 19th July, 1854, of raising the moral, intellectual, and physical condition of Her Majesty's subjects in India, by means of improved and extended facilities of education, the risk of misapprehension may be lessened, and the minds of the people may be set at rest.

67. I rely on your immediate attention being given to the subject, and I shall hope to receive your report at the earliest practicable period.

EDUCATION COMMISSION OF 1882

RECOMMENDATIONS

Indigenous Education

1. That an indigenous school be defined as one established or conducted by natives of India on native methods.
2. That all indigenous schools, whether high or low, be recognised and encouraged, if they serve any purpose of secular education whatsoever.
3. That the best practicable method of encouraging indigenous schools of a high order, and desiring recognition, be ascertained by the Education Departments in communication with Pandits, Maulavis, and others interested in the subject.
4. That preference be given to that system which regulates the aid given mainly according to the results of examinations.
5. That special encouragement be afforded to indigenous school-masters to undergo training, and to bring their relatives and probable successors under regular training.
6. That a steady and gradual improvement in indigenous schools be aimed at, with as little immediate interference with their *personnel* or curriculum as possible.
7. That the standards of examination be arranged to suit each Province, with the view of preserving all that is valued by the people in the indigenous systems, and of encouraging by special grants the gradual introduction of useful subjects of instruction.
8. That indigenous schools receiving aid be inspected *in situ* and, as far as possible, the examinations for their grants-in-aid be conducted *in situ*.

9. That aided indigenous schools, not registered as special schools, be understood to be open to all classes and castes of the community, special aid being, if necessary, assignable on account of low-caste pupils.

10. That such a proportion between special and other elementary indigenous schools be maintained in each town and district, as to ensure a proportionate provision for the education of all classes.

11. That where Municipal and Local boards exist, the registration supervision, and encouragement of indigenous elementary schools, whether aided or unaided, be entrusted to such boards; provided that boards shall not interfere in any way with such schools as do not desire to receive aid, or to be subject to the supervision of the boards.

12. That the aid given to elementary indigenous schools be a charge against the funds at the disposal of Local and Municipal boards where such exist; and every indigenous school, which is registered for aid, receive from such boards the aid to which it is entitled under the rules.

best fit them for their position in life, and be not necessarily regarded as a portion of instruction leading up to the University.

2. That the upper primary and lower primary examinations be not made compulsory in any Province.

3. That while every branch of education can justly claim the fostering care of the State, it is desirable, in the present circumstances of the country, to declare the elementary education of the masses, its provision, extension, and improvement, to be that part of the educational system to which the strenuous efforts of the State should now be directed in a still larger measure than heretofore.

4. That an attempt be made to secure the fullest possible provision for, and extension of, primary education by legislation suited to the circumstances of each Province.

5. That where indigenous schools exist, the principle of aiding and improving them be recognised as an important means of extending elementary education.

6. That examination by inspecting officers be conducted as far as possible *in situ* and all primary schools receiving aid be invariably inspected *in situ*.

7. That as a general rule, aid to primary schools be regulated to a large extent according to the results of examination; but an exception may be made in the case of schools established in backward Districts or under peculiar circumstances, which may be aided under special rules.

8. That school-house and furniture be of the simplest and most economical kind.

9. That the standards of primary examinations in each Province be revised with a view to simplification, and to the larger introduction of practical subjects, such as native methods of arithmetic, accounts and mensuration, the elements of natural and physical science, and their application to agriculture, health,

and the industrial arts; but that no attempt be made to secure general uniformity throughout India.

10. That care be taken not to interfere with the freedom of managers of aided schools in the choice of text-books.

11. That promotion from class to class be not necessarily made to depend on the results of one fixed standard of examinations uniform throughout the Province.

12. That physical development be promoted by the encouragement of native games, gymnastics, school-drill, and other exercises suited to the circumstances of each class of school.

13. That all inspecting officers and teachers be directed to see that the teaching and discipline of every school are such as to exert a right influence on the manners, the conduct, and the character of the children, and that, for the guidance of the masters, a special manual be prepared.

14. That the existing rules, as to religious teaching in Government schools, be applied to all primary schools wholly maintained by Municipal or Local Fund boards.

15. That the supply of Normal schools, whether Government or aided, be so localised as to provide for the local requirements of all primary schools, whether Government or aided, within the Division under each Inspector.

classes, a general or larger exemption from payment of fees be allowed under proper authority for special reasons.

19. That, subject to the exemption of a certain proportion of free students on account of poverty, fees, whether in money or kind be levied in all aided schools; but the proceeds be left entirely at the disposal of the school-managers.

20. That the principle laid down in Lord Hardinge's Resolution, dated 11th October 1844, be re-affirmed, *i. e.*, that in selecting persons to fill the lowest offices under Government, preference be always given to candidates who can read and write.

21. That the local Governments, especially those of Bombay and of the North-Western Provinces, be invited to consider the advisability of carrying out the suggestion contained in paragraph 96 of the Despatch of 1854, namely, of making some educational qualification necessary to the confirmation of hereditary village officers, such as Patels and Lambardars.

22. That night-schools be encouraged wherever practicable.

23. That as much elasticity as possible be permitted both as regards the hours of the day and the seasons of the year during which the attendance of scholars is required, especially in agricultural villages and in backward Districts.

24. That primary education be extended in backward Districts, especially in those inhabited mainly by aboriginal races, by the instrumentality of the Department pending the creation of school-boards, or by specially liberal grants-in-aid to those who are willing to set up and maintain schools.

25. That all primary schools wholly maintained at the cost of the school-boards, and all primary schools that are aided from the same fund and are not registered as special schools, be understood to be open to all castes and classes of the community.

26. That such a proportion between special and other primary schools be maintained in each school-district as to ensure a proportionate provision for the education of all castes.

27. That assistance be given to schools and orphanages in which poor children are taught reading, writing, and counting, with or without manual work.

28. That primary education be declared to be that part of the whole system of Public Instruction, which possesses an almost exclusive claim on local funds set apart for education, and a large claim on provincial revenues.

29. That both Municipal and Local Boards keep a separate school-fund.

30. That the Municipal school-fund consist of :—

- (a) a fair proportion of Municipal revenues, to be fixed in each case by the Local Government ;
- (b) the fees levied in schools wholly maintained at the cost of the Municipal school-fund ;
- (c) any assignment that may be made to the Municipal school-fund from the Local fund ;
- (d) any assignment from Provincial Funds ;
- (e) any other funds that may be entrusted to the Municipalities for the promotion of education ;
- (f) any unexpended balance of the school-fund from previous years.

31. That the Local board's school-fund consist of :—

- (a) a distinct share of the general Local Fund, which share shall not be less than a minimum proportion to be prescribed for each Province ;
- (b) the fees levied in schools wholly maintained at the cost of the school-fund ;

- (c) any contribution that may be assigned by Municipal Boards;
- (d) any assignment made from Provincial Funds;
- (e) any other funds that may be entrusted to the Local Boards for the promotion of education;
- (f) any unexpended balance of the school-fund from previous years.

32. That the general control over primary school-expenditure be vested in the school-boards, whether Municipal or Local, which may now exist or may hereafter be created for self-government in each Province.

33. That the first appointment of schoolmasters in Municipal or Local board-schools be left to the town or district boards, with the proviso that the masters be certificated or approved by the Department, and their subsequent promotion or removal be regulated by the boards, subject to the approval of the Department.

34. That the cost of maintaining or aiding primary schools in each school-district, and the construction and repair of board school-house, be charged against the Municipal or Local Board school-fund so created.

35. That the vernacular, in which instruction shall be imparted in any primary school maintained by any Municipal or Local Board, be determined by the school committee of management, subject to revision by the Municipal or Local Board: provided that if there be any dissenting minority in the community, who represent a number of pupils sufficient to form one or more separate classes or schools, it shall be incumbent on the Department to provide for the establishment of such classes or schools, and it shall be incumbent on such Municipal or Local Board to assign to such classes or schools a fair proportion of the whole assignable funds.

36. That Municipal and Local boards administering funds in aid of primary schools adopt the rules prescribed by the Department for aiding such schools, and introduce no change therein without the sanction of the Department.

Secondary Education

1. That in the upper classes of high schools there be two divisions, one leading to the Entrance examination of the Universities, the other of a more practical character, intended to fit youths for commercial or other non-literary pursuits.

2. That when the proposed bifurcation in secondary schools is carried out, the certificate of having passed by the final standard, or, if necessary, by any lower standard, of either of the proposed alternative courses, be accepted as a sufficient general test of the fitness for the public service.

3. That high and middle schools be united in the returns under the single term "secondary schools", and that the classification of students in secondary schools be provided for in a separate Table, showing the stage of instruction, whether primary, middle, or upper, of pupils in all schools of primary and secondary education.

4. That a small annual grant be made for the formation and maintenance of libraries in all high schools.

5. That the Grant-in-aid Code of each Province include provision for giving help to school-managers in the renewal, and if necessary, the increase, of their furniture and apparatus of instruction after stated intervals.

6. That an examination in the principles and practice of teaching be instituted, success in which should hereafter be a condition of permanent employment as a teacher in any secondary school, Government or aided.

7. That graduates wishing to attend a course of instructions in a Normal school in the principles and practice of

teaching be required to undergo a shorter course of training than others.

8. That the claims of efficient and successful teachers in aided schools be considered in making appointments to posts in the service of Government, and that in cases duly certified by the Education Department the 25 years' rule be relaxed.

9. That the Director of Public Instruction, in consultation with the managers of schools receiving aid from Government, determine the scale of fees to be charged and the proportion of pupils to be exempted from payment therein.

10. That, in order to encourage the establishment of aided schools, the managers be not required to charge fees as high as those of a neighbouring Government school of the same class.

11. That scholarship-holders as such be not exempted from payment of the ordinary fees.

12. That in all Provinces the system of scholarships be so arranged that, as suggested in the Despatch of 1854, they may form connecting links between the different grades of institutions.

13. That scholarships payable from public funds, including educational endowments not attached to a particular institution, be awarded after public competition, without restriction, except in special cases, to students from any particular class of schools.

14. That scholarships gained in open competition be tenable, under proper safeguards to ensure the progress of the scholarship-holder, at any approved institution for general or special instruction.

15. That the attention of the Government of Bombay be invited to the fact that, while the Despatch of 1854 provides for the creation of both free and stipendiary scholarships tenable in Government and private schools alike, almost exclusive stress is now laid in that Presidency upon free studentships, and

that stipendiary scholarships are confined to students of Government schools.

16. That the Government of Madras be invited to consider the necessity of revising the system of scholarships in secondary schools in that Presidency, with a view to bringing it into harmony with the provisions of the despatch of 1854.

17. That in the conduct of all Departmental examinations managers and teachers of the various non-Government schools be associated, as far as possible, with the officers of the Department.

18. That, in order to secure the efficiency of Departmental examinations, examiners, whether officials or non-officials, be remunerated from the fees levied from candidates, increased, when necessary, by a grant from Government.

19. That the importance of requiring inspecting officers to see that the teaching and discipline of every school are such as to exert a right influence on the manners, the conduct, and the character of pupils be re-affirmed.

20. That continuous instruction in school without a break do not extend, as a rule, beyond three hours.

21. That in the Punjab the course in Persian of high schools do not extend beyond the standard of the Entrance examination.

22. That promotions from class to class be left entirely to the discretion of the school authorities.

23. That it be distinctly laid down that the relation of the State to secondary is different from its relation to primary education, in that the means of primary education may be provided without regard to the existence of local co-operation, while it is ordinarily expedient to provide the means of secondary education only where adequate local co-operation is forthcoming; and that therefore, in all ordinary cases, secondary schools for instruction

in English be hereafter established by the State preferably on the footing of the system of grants-in-aid.

Collegiate Education

1. That the attention of the Local Governments be invited to the recommendations made in the several Provincial Reports with regard to providing or extending the means of collegiate education in the Province of Sindh and at Ahmedabad in Bombay, at Bhagulpur in Bengal, and at Jabalpur in the Central Provinces; and also to the question of the establishment of an aided college at Delhi under native management,

2. That the rate of aid to each college be determined by the strength of the staff, the expenditure on its maintenance, the efficiency of the institution, and the wants of the locality.

3. That provision be made for special grants to aided colleges, whenever necessary, for the supply and renewal of buildings, furniture, libraries, and other apparatus of instruction.

4. That in order to secure a due succession of competent officers in the Education Department, the period of necessary service qualifying for pension should be reduced, and that a graduated scale of pensions based on length of service, and obtainable without medical certificate, should be introduced.

5. That Indian graduates, especially those who have also graduated in European Universities, be more largely employed than they have hitherto been in the colleges maintained by Government.

6. That in order to encourage diversity of culture, both on the literary and on the physical side, it is desirable, in all the larger colleges, Government and aided, to make provision for more than one of the alternative courses laid down by the Universities.

7. That the discretionary power of Principals of colleges to admit to certain courses of lectures in special cases students

who have not passed the examinations required by the Universities, be affirmed.

8. That an attempt be made to prepare a moral text-book, based upon the fundamental principles of natural religion, such as may be taught in all Government and non-Government colleges.

9. That the Principal or one of the Professors in each Government and aided college deliver to each of the college-classes in every session a series of lectures on the duties of a man and a citizen.

10. That while it is desirable to affirm the principle that fees at the highest rate consistent with the undiminished spread of education should be levied in every college aided by the State, no aided college should be required to levy fees at the same rate as that charged in a neighbouring Government college.

11. That no college, Government or aided, be allowed to receive more than a certain proportion of free students; the proportion fixed by the Department, in communication, where necessary, with the managers.

12. That to secure regularity of attendance at colleges, the principle be affirmed that fees, though levied monthly for the convenience of students, are to be regarded as payments for a term, and that a student has no right to a certificate from his college for any term until the whole fee for that term is paid.

13. That as the fees in the Presidency College of Madras are considerably lower than those which it is found practicable to levy in the Presidency Colleges of Calcutta and Bombay, the Government of Madras be invited to consider the advisability of enhancing the rate of fees in that college.

14. That the Local Governments and Administrations be invited to consider whether it is necessary to assign for scholarships tenable in Arts colleges a larger proportion of the provincial grant for education than 2 per cent.

15. That scholarship-holders as such be not exempted from payment of the ordinary fees.

16. That the Local Governments be invited to consider the advisability of appropriating, where necessary, a certain sum for the establishment for scholarships tenable by graduates reading for the M. A. degree.

17. That the Local Governments be invited to consider the advisability of establishing scholarships for distinguished graduates to enable them to proceed to Europe for the purpose of practically studying some branch of mechanical industry.

18. That in place of the system existing in Madras, according to which the first twenty students at the University Entrance and F. A. examinations are allowed to read free in any Government college, liberal provision be made for a system of scholarships open to general competition and tenable in any college.

19. That the Government of Bombay be requested to consider whether all or some of the scholarships now restricted to the Elphinstone and Deccan Colleges may, with due regard to the circumstances under which they were originally founded, be made tenable at any affiliated college; and that if these scholarships cannot fairly be opened to general competition, they be awarded as far as possible to poor students who, but for the stipends, would be unable to continue their studies at college.

Internal Administration of the Education Department

1. That when an educational officer enters the higher graded service of the Educational Department, his promotion should not involve any loss of pay.

2. That conferences (1) of officers of the Education Department, and (2) of such officers with managers of aided and unaided schools, be held from time to time for the discussion of

questions affecting education, the Director of Public Instruction being in each case *ex-officio* President of the conference. Also that Deputy Inspectors occasionally hold local meetings of the school-masters subordinate to them for the discussion of questions of school management.

3. That a general educational library and museum be formed at some suitable locality in each Province, and that encouragement be given to school-papers or magazines conducted in the Vernacular.

4. That managers of schools in competition be invited by the Department to agree to rules providing, as far as the circumstances of the locality allow, (1) that, except at specified times, a pupil of one school be not admitted to another without a certificate from his previous school; (2) that any fees due to that school have been paid; and (3) that he do not obtain promotion into a higher class by changing his school.

5. That it be an instruction to the Departments in the various Provinces to aim at raising fees gradually, cautiously, and with due regard to necessary exemptions, up to the highest amount that will not check the spread of education, especially in colleges, secondary schools, and primary schools in towns where the value of education is understood.

6. That the Education Department in each Province limit its calls for returns, (1) to such as the Government may require, and (2) to such others as are indispensable for information and control.

7. That all schools managed by the Department, or by Committees exercising statutory powers, and all other schools that are regularly aided or inspected, or that regularly send pupils to the examinations of the University or of the Department (other than examinations which are conducted by the Department for admission to the public service), be classed as public

schools, and sub-divided into Departmental, aided, and unaided; (2) that all other schools furnishing returns to the Department be classed as private schools; and (3) that all other details of classification be referred to the Statistical Committee appointed by the Government of India.

8. That no attempt be made to furnish financial returns for private schools.

9. That native and other local energy be relied upon to foster and manage all education as far as possible, but that the results must be tested by Departmental agency, and that therefore the inspecting staff be increased so as to be adequate to the requirements of each Province.

10. That the remuneration of subordinate inspecting officers be reconsidered in each Province with due regard to their enhanced duties and responsibilities.

11. That as a general rule, transfers of officers from Professorships of colleges to Inspectorships of schools, and *vice versa*, be not made.

12. That it be distinctly laid down that native gentlemen of approved qualifications be eligible for the post of Inspector of Schools, and that they be employed in that capacity more commonly than has been the case hitherto.

13. That Inspectresses be employed where necessary for the general supervision of Government, aided, and other girls' schools desiring inspection.

14. That in every Province a Code be drawn up for the guidance of Inspecting Officers.

15. That it be recognised as the duty of the Revenue Officers to visit the schools within their jurisdiction, communicating to the Executive Officers or Board to which each school is subordinate any recommendations which they may desire to make.

16. That voluntary inspection by officers of Government and private persons be encouraged, in addition to the regular inspection of Departmental and Revenue Officers.

17. That the detailed examination of scholars in primary schools be chiefly entrusted to the Deputy Inspectors and their assistants, and that the main duty of the Inspectors in connection with such schools be to visit them, to examine into the way in which they are conducted, and to endeavour to secure the cordial support of the people in the promotion of primary education.

18. That the general upper and lower primary school examinations be not compulsory, but that the annual reports show the number of scholars in each stage of education.

19. That in every Province in which examinations for the public service are held, they be so arranged as to give encouragement to Vernacular education.

20. That the Committees appointed to conduct the public service examinations and other examinations of a similar kind include representatives of non-Government schools as well as Departmental officers.

21. That Normal schools, Government or aided, for teachers of secondary schools be encouraged.

22. That the Text-book Committees in the several Provinces include qualified persons of different sections of the community not connected with the Department, and that to these Committees should be submitted all text-books, both English and Vernacular, that it is proposed to introduce into schools, and all text-books now in use that may seem to need revision.

23. That the Text-book Committees of the several Provinces act as far as possible in concert, and communicate to each other lists of English text-books, and, in the case of those

Provinces which have any common language, lists of Vernacular text-books which are satisfactory, and of books which they consider to be wanting or inadequate.

24. That the operations of the existing Government depots be confined as soon as may be practicable to the supply and distribution of Vernacular text-books.

25. That care be taken to avoid as far as possible, the introduction of text-books which are of an aggressive character, or are likely to give unnecessary offence to any section of the community.

26. That in the printing of text-books, especially Vernacular text-books, attention be paid to clearness of typography.

External Relations of the Department

1. That teachers in non-Government institutions be allowed to present themselves for examination for any grade of certificate required by the grant-in-aid rules without being compelled to attend a Normal school.

2. That in any statement of expenditure required by the grant-in-aid rules from colleges whose Professors are prevented from receiving fixed salaries by the constitution of the religious societies to which they belong, the expenditure on the maintenance of such colleges be calculated at the rates current in aided institutions of the same general character.

3. That in schools aided on the result-system, variety in the course of instruction be encouraged by grants for special subjects.

4. That greater latitude be given to the managers of aided schools in fixing the course of instruction and the medium through which it is conveyed.

5. That the payment-by-results system be not applied to colleges.

6. That every application for a grant-in-aid receive an official reply, and that in case of refusal the reasons for such refusal be given.

7. That the proximity of a Government or of an aided school be not regarded as of itself a sufficient reason for refusing aid to a non-Governmental school.

8. That with the object of rendering assistance to schools in the form best suited to the circumstances of each Province and thus to call forth the largest amount of local co-operation, the grant-in-aid rules be revised by the Local Governments in concert with the managers of schools.

9. That, in this revision, the rules be so defined as to avoid any ambiguity as to the amount and duration of the aid to which an institution may be entitled, the conditions of grants for building, apparatus, and furniture being clearly stated; and that special reference be had to the complaints that have been made against existing systems, particularly the complaints dwelt upon in this Report.

10. That whilst existing State institutions of the higher order should be maintained in complete efficiency wherever they are necessary, the improvement and extension of institutions under private management be the principal care of the Department.

11. That, in ordinary circumstances the further extension of secondary education in any District be left to the operation of the grant-in-aid system, as soon as that District is provided with an efficient high school, Government or other, along with its necessary feeders.

12. That it be a general principle that the grant-in-aid should depend :—

- (a) on locality, *i. e.*, that larger proportionate grants be given to schools in backward Districts ;

- (b) on the class of institutions, *i. e.*, that greater proportionate aid be given to those in which a large amount of self-support cannot be expected, *e. g.*, girls' schools and schools for lower castes and backward races.

13. That the following be adopted as general principles to regulate the amount of grants-in-aid except in cases in which Recommendations for special aid have been made :—

- (a) That no grant be given to an institution which has become self-supporting by means of fees, and which needs no further development to meet the wants of the locality.
- (b) That the amount of State aid (exclusive of scholarships from public funds) do not extend one half of the entire expenditure on an institution.
- (c) That, as a general rule, this maximum rate of aid be given only to girls' schools, primary schools, and Normal schools.

14. That with a view to secure the co-operation of Government and non-Government institutions, the managers of the latter be consulted on matters of general educational interest, and that their students be admitted on equal terms to competition for certificates, scholarships, and other public distinctions.

15. That the Government of Bombay be invited to consider propriety of converting the Dakshina fellowships into University fellowships with definite duties attached to them, to be tenable for a term of years and open to all candidates irrespective of the college in which they have been trained.

16. That in Bengal the payment from the Mohsin Fund of two-thirds of the fees of Muhammadan students, now confined to Government schools be extended to Muhammadan students of non-Government schools approved by the Department.

17. That grants be paid without delay when they become due according to the rules.

18. That care be taken lest public examinations become the means of practically imposing the same text-books or curriculum on all schools.

19. That the revised rules for grants-in-aid and any subsequent alterations made in them be not merely published in the official gazettes, but translated into the Vernacular, and communicated to the press, to the managers of aided and private institutions, and to all who are likely to help in any way in the spread of education.

20. That the further extension of female education be preferentially promoted by affording liberal aid and encouragement to managers who show their personal interest in the work, and only when such agency is not available by the establishment of schools under the management of the Department or of Local or Municipal Boards.

21. That a periodically increasing provision be made in the educational budget of each Province for the expansion of aided institutions.

22. That when any school or class of schools under Departmental management is transferred to a Local or Municipal Board the functions of such board be clearly defined, and that, as a general rule, its powers include (a) the appointment of teachers qualified under the rules of the Department, (b) the reduction or dismissal of such teachers, subject to the approval of the Department, (c) the selection of the standard and course of instruction subject to the control of the Department, and (d) the determination of rates of fees and of the proportion of free-students, subject to the general rules in force.

23. That if in any Province the management of Government schools of secondary instruction be transferred either to

Municipalities or to Local Boards, or to Committees appointed by those bodies, encouragement be given to the subsequent transfer of the schools concerned to the management of associations of private persons combining locally with that object, provided they are able to afford adequate guarantees of permanence and efficiency.

24. That when Local and Municipal Boards have the charge of aiding schools, (1) their powers and duties be clearly defined; (2) that it be declared to be an important part of their duty to make provision for the primary education of the children of the poor; (3) that precautions be taken to secure that any assignment to them from public funds for purposes of education be impartially administered; (4) that an appeal against any refusal of aid lie to the Department.

25. That the system of grants-in-aid be based as hitherto, in accordance with paragraph 53 of the Despatch of 1854, on an entire abstinence from interference with the religious instruction conveyed in the institution assisted: provided that when the only institution of any particular grade existing in any town or village is an institution in which religious instruction forms a part of the ordinary course, it shall be open to parents to withdraw their children from attendance at such instruction without forfeiting any of the benefits of the institution.

26. That a parent be understood to consent to his child's passing through the full curriculum of the school, unless his intention to withdraw him from religious instruction be intimated at the time of the child's first entering the school, or at the beginning of a subsequent term.

27. That in order to evoke and stimulate local co-operation in the transfer to private management of Government institutions for collegiate or secondary instruction, aid at specially liberal rates be offered for a term of years, wherever necessary, to any local body willing to undertake the management of any

such institution under adequate guarantees of permanence and efficiency.

28. That in the event of any Government school or college being transferred to local management, provision be also made for the legal transfer to the new managers of all educational endowments, buildings and other property belonging to such institutions in the hands of Government.

29. That in the event of any Government school or college being transferred to local management, the incumbents of offices under Government be secured in the enjoyment of all their existing rights and privileges.

30. That all Directors of Public Instruction aim at the gradual transfer to local native management of Government schools of secondary instruction (including schools attached to first or second grade colleges), in every case in which the transfer can be effected without lowering the standard, or diminishing the supply of education, and without endangering the permanence of the institution transferred.

31. That the fact that any school raises more than 60 per cent. of its entire expenditure from fees be taken as affording a presumption that the transfer of such school to local management can be safely effected.

32. That in dealing with the question of the withdrawal of Government from the management of existing colleges, these colleges be regarded as divided into three classes, *viz.*:—

- (1) Those from which it is premature for Government to consider the propriety of withdrawal, on the ground that they are, and will long continue to be, the institutions on which the higher education of the country mainly depends.
- (2) Those that might be transferred with advantage, as a measure promising useful political results, to bodies

of native gentlemen, provided the new managers give satisfactory guarantees that the college will be maintained (1) permanently, (2) in full efficiency, (3) in such a way as to make it adequate for all the wants of the locality.

- (3) Those which have been shown to be unsuccessful, or of which the cost is out of proportion to the utility, and from which Government might advantageously withdraw even with less stringent guarantees for permanent efficiency. Such colleges should be closed if, after due notice, no local body be formed to carry them on with such a grant-in-aid as the rules provide.

33. That the Government of Madras be requested to consider the propriety of dealing with the second grade Government college of that Province on the principles applicable to the second or third class as may be deemed advisable in each case, in the light of the recommendations made by the Madras Provincial Committee.

34. That the Government of Bombay be requested to consider the propriety of raising the Ahmedabad college to one teaching up to the B. A. standard, and of securing its full efficiency for a term of years, on the condition that after that period it be treated on the principles applicable to the second class.

35. That the Government of Bengal be requested to consider the propriety of dealing with the Rajshahye and Krishnagar Government colleges on the principles applicable to the second class, and with the colleges at Berhampur, Midnapur, and Chittagong on the principles applicable to the third class, as suggested by the Bengal Provincial Committee.

36. That the bestowal of patronage in Government appointments be so ordered as to offer greater encouragement to high education.

Classes Requiring Special Treatment

a—THE SONS OF NATIVE CHIEFS AND NOBLEMEN

1. That Local Governments be invited to consider the question of establishing special colleges or schools for the sons and relations of Native Chiefs and noblemen, where such institutions do not now exist.

2. That Local Governments be invited to consider the advisability of entrusting the education of Wards of Court to the joint supervision of the District authorities and the Educational Inspectors.

b—MUHAMMADANS

1. That the special encouragement of Muhammadan education be regarded as a legitimate charge on Local, on Municipal, and on Provincial Funds.

2. That indigenous Muhammadan schools be liberally encouraged to add purely secular subjects to their curriculum of instruction.

3. That special standards for Muhammadan primary schools be prescribed.

4. That Hindustani be the principal medium for imparting instruction to Muhammadans in primary and middle schools, except in localities where the Muhammadan community desire that some other language be adopted.

5. That the official Vernacular, in places where it is not Hindustani, be added, as a voluntary subject, to the curriculum of primary and middle schools for Muhammadans maintained from public funds; and that arithmetic and accounts be taught through the medium of that Vernacular.

6. That, in localities where Muhammadans form a fair proportion of the population, provision be made in middle and

high schools maintained from public funds for imparting instruction in the Hindustani and Persian languages.

7. That higher English education for Muhammadans, being the kind of education in which that community needs special help, be liberally encouraged.

8. That, where necessary, a graduated system of special scholarships for Muhammadans be established, to be awarded:—

- (a) In primary schools, and tenable in middle schools.
- (b) In middle schools, and tenable in high schools.
- (c) On the results of the Matriculation and First Arts Examinations, and tenable in colleges.

9. That, in all classes of schools maintained from public funds, a certain proportion of free-studentships be expressly reserved for Muhammadan students.

10. That, in places where educational endowments for the benefit of Muhammadans exist, and are under the management of Government, the funds arising from such endowments be devoted to the advancement of education among Muhammadans exclusively.

11. That, where Muhammadan endowments exist, and are under the management of private individuals or bodies, inducements by liberal grants-in-aid be offered to them, to establish English-teaching schools or colleges on the grant-in-aid system.

12. That, where necessary, Normal schools or classes for the training of Muhammadan teachers be established.

13. That, wherever instruction is given in Muhammadan schools through the medium of Hindustani, endeavours be made to secure, as far as possible, Muhammadan teachers to give such instruction.

14. That Muhammadan Inspecting Officers be employed more largely than hitherto for the inspection of primary schools for Muhammadans.

15. That associations for the promotion of Muhammadan education be recognised and encouraged.

16. That in the annual Reports on public instruction a special section be devoted to Muhammadan education.

17. That the attention of the Local Governments be invited to the question of the proportion in which patronage is distributed among educated Muhammadans and others.

18. That the principles embodied in the Recommendations given above be equally applicable to any other races with similar antecedents, whose education is on the same level as that of the Muhammadans.

—ABORIGINAL TRIBES

1. That children of aboriginal tribes be exempted wherever necessary from payment of fees, over and above any general exemptions otherwise provided for.

2. That, if necessary, extra allowances be given under the result system, for boys of aboriginal tribes taught in ordinary schools.

3. That when children of aboriginal tribes are found sufficiently instructed to become schoolmasters among their own people, attempts be made to establish them in schools within the borders of the tribes.

4. That if any bodies be willing to undertake the work of education among aboriginal tribes, they be liberally assisted on the basis of abstention from any interference with any religious teaching.

5. That where the language of the tribe has not been reduced to writing, or is otherwise unsuitable, the medium of instruction be the Vernacular of the neighbouring population, with whom the aboriginal people most often come in contact.

6. That, where the education of such tribes is carried on in their own Vernacular, the Vernacular of the neighbouring District be an additional subject of instruction where this is found advisable.

d—LOW CASTES

1. That the principle laid down in the Court of Directors' letter of May 5th, 1854, and again in their reply to the letter of the Government of India, dated May 20th, 1857, that "no boy be refused admission to a Government college or school merely on the ground of caste," and repeated by the Secretary of State in 1863, be now re-affirmed as a principle, and be applied with due caution to every institution not reserved for special races, which is wholly maintained at the cost of public funds, whether Provincial, Municipal, or Local.

2. That the establishment of special schools or classes for children of low castes be liberally encouraged in places where there is a sufficient number of such children to form separate schools or classes, and where the schools maintained from public funds do not sufficiently provide for their education.

Female Education

1. That female education be treated as a legitimate charge alike on Local, on Municipal, and on Provincial Funds, and receive special encouragement.

2. That all female schools or orphanages, whether on a religious basis or not, be eligible for aid so far as they produce any secular results, such as a knowledge of reading or of writing.

3. That the conditions of aid to girls' schools be easier than to boys' schools, and the rates higher—more especially in the case of those established for poor or for low-caste girls.

4. That the rules for grants be so framed as to allow for the fact that girls' schools generally contain a large proportion of

beginners, and of those who cannot attend school for so many hours a day, or with such regularity as boys.

5. That the standards of instruction for primary girls' schools be simpler than those for boys' schools, and be drawn up with special reference to the requirements of home life, and to the occupations open to women.

6. That the greatest care be exercised in the selection of suitable text-books for girls' schools, and that the preparation of such books be encouraged.

7. That, while fees be levied where practicable, no girls' school be debarred from a grant on account of its not levying fees.

8. That special provision be made for girls' scholarships, to be awarded after examination, and that, with a view to encouraging girls to remain longer at school, a certain proportion of them be reserved for girls not under twelve years of age.

9. That liberal aid be offered for the establishment, in suitable localities, of girls' schools in which English should be taught in addition to the Vernacular.

10. That special aid be given, where necessary, to girls' schools that make provision for boarders.

14. That female schools be not placed under the management of Local Boards or of Municipalities unless they express a wish to take charge of them.

15. That the first appointment of school-mistresses in girls' schools under the management of Municipal or Local Boards be left to such Boards, with the proviso that the mistresses be either certificated, or approved by the Department; and that subsequent promotion or removal be regulated by the Boards, subject to the approval of the Department.

16. That rules be framed to promote the gradual supersession of male by female teachers in all girls' schools.

17. That, in schools under female teachers, stipendiary pupil-teacherships be generally encouraged.

18. That the attention of Local Governments be invited to the question of establishing additional Normal schools or classes; and that those under private management receive liberal aid, part of which might take the form of a bonus for every pupil passing the certificate examination.

19. That the Departmental certificate examinations for teachers be open to all candidates, wherever prepared.

20. That teachers in schools for general education be encouraged by special rewards to prepare pupils for examinations for teachers' certificates, and that girls be encouraged by the offer of prizes to qualify for such certificates.

21. That liberal inducements be offered to the wives of schoolmasters to qualify as teachers, and that in suitable cases widows be trained as school-mistresses, care being taken to provide them with sufficient protection in the places where they are to be employed as teachers.

22. That, in Districts where European or Eurasian young women are required as teachers in native schools, special encouragement be given to them to qualify in a Vernacular language.

23. That grants for zanana teaching be recognised as a proper charge on public funds and be given under rules which will enable the agencies engaged in that work to obtain substantial aid for such secular teaching as may be tested by an Inspectress or other female agency.

24. That associations for the promotion of female education by examinations or otherwise be recognised by the Department, and encouraged by grants under suitable conditions.

25. That female inspecting agency be regarded as essential to the full development of female education, and be more largely employed than hitherto.

26. That an alternative subject in examinations suitable for girls be established, corresponding in standard to the Matriculation examination, but having no relation to any existing University course.

27. That endeavours be made to secure the services of native gentlemen interested in female education on committees for the supervision of girls' schools, and that European and Native ladies be also invited to assist such committees.

Legislation

1. That the duties of Municipal and Local Boards in controlling or assisting schools under their supervision be regulated by local enactments suited to the circumstances of each Province.

2. That the area of any Municipal or rural unit of Local Self-Government that may now or hereafter exist be declared to be a school-district, and school-boards be established for the management and control of schools placed under their jurisdiction in each such district.

3. That the control of each school-board over all schools within the said school-district be subject to the following provisions :—

- (a) that it be open to the Local Government to exclude any school, or any class of schools, other than schools of primary instruction for boys, from the control of such school-board ;
- (b) that any school which is situated in the said school-district, and which receives no assistance either from the board or the Department, continue, if the managers so desire it, to be independent of the control of the school-board ;
- (c) that the managers of any institution which receives aid either from the board or the Department, continue to exercise in regard to such institution full powers of management subject to such limitations as the Local Government may from time to time impose as a condition of receiving aid ;
- (d) that the school-board may delegate to any body appointed by itself or subordinate to it any duties in regard to any school or class of institutions under its control which it thinks fit so to delegate.

4. That the Local Government declare from time to time what funds constituting a school-fund shall be vested in any school-board for educational purposes, and what proportion of such school-fund shall be assigned to any class of education.

5. That it be the duty of every school-board :—

- (a) to prepare an annual budget of its income and expenditure ;
- (b) to determine what schools shall be wholly maintained at the cost of the school-fund, what schools are eligible for grants-in-aid, and which of them shall receive aid ;
- (c) to keep a register of all schools, whether maintained at the cost of public funds, or aided or unaided, which are situated in its school-district ;

- (d) to construct and repair school-houses or to grant aid towards their construction or repair;
- (e) generally to carry out any other of the objects indicated in the various recommendations of the Commission, which in the opinion of the Local Government can best be secured by legislative enactment, or by rules made under the Act.

6. That the appointment, reduction of salary, or dismissal, of teachers in schools maintained by the board be left to the school-board; provided that the said board shall be guided in its appointments by any rules as to qualifications which may be laid down from time to time by the Department; and provided that an appeal shall lie to the Department against any order of dismissal or reduction of salary.

7. That an appeal lie to the Department against any order of a board in regard to such matters as the Local Government shall specify.

8. That every school-board be required to submit to the Local Government through the Department an annual report of its administration, together with its accounts of income and expenditure, in such form and on such date as shall be prescribed by the Local Government; and thereon the Local Government declare whether the existing supply of schools of any class, of which the supervision has been entrusted to such board, is sufficient to secure adequate proportionate provision for the education of all classes of the community; and in the event of the said Government declaring that the supply is insufficient, it determine from what sources and in what manner the necessary provision of schools shall be made.

10. That such Code shall define and regulate :—

- (a) the internal mechanism of the Education Department in regard to direction, inspection, and teaching ;
- (b) the external relations of the Department to private individuals and public bodies engaged in the work of education ;
- (c) the scope, functions and rules of the system of grants-in-aid ;
- (d) the character of any special measures for the education of classes requiring exceptional treatment ;
- (e) the scope and divisions of the annual report upon the progress of public instruction, together with the necessary forms of returns.

11. That power be reserved to the Local Government, from time to time, to add, to cancel, or modify the provisions of the said Code.

12. That the Code be annually published in the Official Gazette in such a form as to show separately all articles which have been cancelled or modified and all new articles which have been introduced since the publication of the last edition."

14th September 1883.

The Report is signed by :

W. W. Hunter, *President.*

D. M. Barbour.	Ananda Mohan Bose.
W. R. Blacket.	A. W. Croft.
C. A. R. Browning.	J. T. Fowler.
K. Deighton.	A. P. Howell.
Haji Ghulam Hassan.	A. Jean.
H. P. Jacob.	Sayyid Mahmud.
W. Lee-Warner.	Bhudeb Mookerjea.
W. Miller.	G. Pearson.
P. Ranganada Mudaliyar.	Jotendra Mohun Tagore.
Kashinath Trimbak Telang.	G. E. Ward.

K. T. TELANG'S MINUTE

I concur in so many of the Recommendations contained in this Report, that I have no hesitation whatever in signing it. But after much anxious consideration, I have arrived at the conclusion that, in signing it, I am bound to put separately on record the opinions I have formed on some of the points with which it deals. I am, however, glad to be able to say at the outset, after a careful consideration of the work done by my colleagues who drew up this Report at Simla, that the very arduous duty which devolved upon them has been discharged by them in a manner, on the whole, extremely fair and satisfactory. There are, indeed, sundry statements in the Report to which I cannot give in my adhesion at all, or can do so only with many qualifications. Thus, the statement that the Local cess in Bombay was in its inception purely voluntary, and the passage which speaks of our Land Revenue system in this Presidency as a "liberal" one, both involve judgments on non-educational matters which I am not prepared to accept. And again, when the study of Sanskrit in the old Benares College is pronounced to have been "frivolous and uncritical" or the provision for college scholarships in Bombay is described as "large" or the practical operation of the "grade" system is spoken of as very successful, we have judgments pronounced on purely educational topics which I cannot concur in without some qualifications. Lastly to refer to a point which is only partially educational, "unwise enthusiasm" and "the chill courtesies of English reserve" are by no means the only "drawbacks"—the former is perhaps the smallest of the drawbacks—to be taken into account in connection with the "intercourse" of the Indian student with "the ruling race"; while, on the other hand, "the pretentious self-assertion" and "the comparative absence of lofty motive" and so forth attributed to the Indian student considered by himself, are, I should say, considerably overstated.* But all such

* See the Evidence of Sir W. Wedderburn, p. 2: Wordsworth, p. 5; and Cf. A., French Eton, pp. 26-7.

points are now of subordinate importance, and having given this slight indication of them, I propose here to say nothing more about them. I shall pass at once to the "Recommendations" contained in this Report, and take them in the order in which they appear there.

And the first Recommendation I wish to notice is the one which lays it down that the Director of Public Instruction should determine the rate of fees to be charged in all schools receiving aid from Government, and the proportion of students to be exempted from payment therein. I confess that I cannot reconcile myself to this Recommendation. The main grounds of my objection to it were stated by me during the debates in Calcutta, and they are summarised in our minutes of proceedings. I shall therefore not repeat them here, but I wish to make one or two observations upon points which have been urged on the other side. It is said, then, that the Recommendation carries out the directions of the Despatch of 1854. I cannot accept this view. I cannot accept as correct a construction of that Despatch, which says that "some fee, however small" (see para. 54 of the Despatch), means some fee not smaller than a minimum to be fixed by the Director of Public Instruction, and to be from time to time raised by that officer, even although it is to be raised "gradually, cautiously, and with due regard to necessary exemptions." And I own that I am the less prepared to accept this strained construction of the clause in question, when I find that, while the traditions of my countrymen, be they Hindus, Mussalmans, or Parsis, are decidedly against any such rule as is sought to be laid down, the grounds alleged in favour of it have been shown by the later experience of even European countries to be quite untenable. The evidence as to the facts on this point may be seen collected in Mr. Morley's "Struggle for National Education" pp. 143-5,* while one principal aim of that delightful little work of Mr. Matthew Arnold, "A

* Cf. Report, Education Commission (1861), VI, 156.

French Eton," was to *reduce* the cost of secondary education in England¹ (*vide inter alia*, pp. 8, 22, 67, 75). The position, therefore, which I take up is this. On such a point we ought not to consider ourselves bound hand and foot by the provisions of the Despatch of 1854; but if we are so bound, then we ought not to extend its words by construction, and especially ought we not to do so, when we thereby run counter not only to the traditions of the communities for whose benefit the Despatch was intended, but also to the more matured experiences of those countries from whose practice the provisions were originally borrowed. But then it is said that the object of the Despatch was to make education self-supporting, and that that object can only be compassed by the increase of fees. From this reading of the Despatch also I must respectfully express my dissent. The Despatch plainly indicates the wish of its authors that the money of the State should be made to go as far as possible in developing education in this country. And doubtless if an aided school could be made by the State to increase its fee *income*—not, be it noticed, its fee rate, which is another and quite a different thing—the State would be able to save something out of its grants-in-aid, which could then be applied in developing education in other directions. But this involves a forcing by the State upon private workers in education of its own ideas on a subject which is a peculiarly appropriate field for the exercise of local knowledge and local experience. Such a procedure seems to me to be scarcely in harmony with the principles of the Despatch, or of the recommendations regarding private enterprise which, in pursuance of those principles, the Commission has put forward.

But then it is said that a provision like the one recommended would strengthen the hands of managers of non-Government

schools, and prevent one aided school from outbidding another. Put into plain English, this argument seems to me to involve a wish that some favoured institutions—perhaps those first in the field—should be enabled to monopolise the State grant, and new sharers in it should be prevented from rising up in competition. For what will be the operation of such a rule, framed with the objects avowed by its framers? The Director of Public Instruction will consult the managers of schools actually receiving aid from Government, and a minimum rate of fee and a maximum proportion of free-studentships will be fixed by their joint wisdom. A school in existence then, but not receiving aid, or a school subsequently started, will both alike be bound by the rule, under penalty of being refused aid by the State, although the managers may never have been consulted about its justice and expediency; or a manager who was consulted and took a different view from the Director would be excluded from the benefit of the State grant for his presumption in differing from that infallible officer. I see nothing that can reconcile me to results like these. It seems to be assumed that reduction of fee below the minimum to be fixed by the Director will often be designed for purposes of mischief and breach of discipline. I maintain that there is no warrant whatever for such an assumption. One great inducement in the past to the opening of schools by my countrymen has been the opportunity thus afforded them for spreading education *cheaply*. I may cite the case of the New English School in Poona as an illustration with which I am most familiar. I hope and believe that the same inducement will continue to be a potent one in future. But if the Recommendation under consideration is put into force, the countervailing influences are sure to be very powerful; they may, perhaps, be too powerful. No doubt one of the representatives of aided institutions in the Commission assured us that managers of aided schools will not look on the Department's action in this matter as at all an interference to be objected to. Probably not. But I am not now particularly concerned for the

institutions which are at present receiving aid. I *am* concerned for those which are not but ought to be receiving aid, and those which may be started hereafter and may properly ask for aid. I *am* concerned for those which shall *not* aim at making secondary and higher education as costly as possible, but which shall be started by men who will, within certain limits, act on the traditions to which I have already alluded. It will, I am aware, be objected to this—in fact, it was objected during our debates—that if any one wants to make education a matter of charity and impart it either as an entirely free gift or at a very small cost, he ought not to ask for State aid in doing so. But that objection seems to me to involve a *non-sequitur*. The work done is of a nature which the State has undertaken to help, and therefore has an absolute claim to such help. And a further remark on the objection is that it certainly does not lie in the mouths of those who contend for grants to be given from State funds to that other agency of educational charity—the so-called “proselytising schools”.

But against all this, it is urged that a rule like that one in question has been in successful operation in Madras. I am unable to make out clearly, from the Provincial Report or from what was said in the course of the debate, whether an aided school, under the existing rules, is liable to have its grant withdrawn if it contravenes an order of the Director on the subject of fees. Apparently it is (see Madras Provincial Report), but only if it receives a salary grant, not a result grant. If so, the example quoted is plainly of limited application. Besides, in such a matter, the mere fact of no complaints having been made for some time by natives of this country is not, to my mind, any proof that the rule is a good one. I think the principle here is wrong; and as to expediency, I cannot but think it highly inexpedient that the State should afford artificial help to institutions not managed by itself, for exacting from students higher fees than they will be able to obtain without such help.

I have only to add one more observation on this point. It will be admitted on all hands that it is useless to lay down a rule when a coach-and-six can be driven through it with ease. And what more easy than that in the case of the rule recommended? A manager has only got to make the appropriate entries on both sides of his accounts and show an expenditure on account of scholarships precisely equal to the difference between the fees he levies and those he is directed to levy. The rule is then satisfied, and the Department is baffled. And probably this further result will also follow. The manager will be able to return his expenditure on his school at a figure larger than the real one, by this enforced addition, and will, under some system of grant-in-aid, be able to claim from the State a larger sum for having succeeded in defying the rules made by the State. Thus this laudable endeavour, commenced to make secondary and higher education more self-supporting,—that is to say, more costly to the students,—“will overleap itself and fall on the other side”; for it will end by becoming more costly, and quite unnecessarily so, not to the student but to the State. And over and above this, of course, are the demoralising effects, however small in each case, of preparing returns for the State in the objectionable form I have before referred to.

The next point I wish to deal with is that involved in the Recommendation contained in Chapter VI. I cordially agree in that Recommendation. And I hope that the Local Governments concerned will deal in a spirit of liberality with the cases there referred to, and not allow themselves to be influenced by the cry that too much is being spent on higher education in India. With that cry, in the form in which it has been raised, I have no sympathy whatever. I unreservedly accept the view that without mass education the country will never be able to enjoy to the full the fruits which it has a right to expect from the higher education. For that purpose, you must bestow brains, as Mill has it, on those who have only hands. And in my

judgment the time has now come when with that view mass education must be pushed onward, or, as it is expressed in the Resolution appointing the Commission, "the different branches of public instruction should, if possible, move forward together." On the other hand, I hold an equally strong opinion that, without the higher education, mass education cannot be of much avail, even if it can be secured. And the argument so often urged, that for the money spent on giving high education to one student, you might give primary education to more than one hundred, is to my mind utterly futile, and unworthy even of a moment's consideration.¹ "We have nearly all of us," says Mr. Matthew Arnold,² "reached the notion that popular education it is the State's duty to deal with. Secondary and superior instruction, many of us still think, should be left to take care of themselves." And after pointing out what has been done in European countries in this matter, he winds up thus: "In all these countries the idea of a sound civil organisation of modern society has been found to involve the idea of an organisation of secondary and superior instruction by public authority or by the State." I will not dwell more on this point, but will merely say that in my opinion the whole religious, social, political, and industrial advance of the country depends on the steady adhesion to that enlightened policy, as regards high education, which has probably been the most generally approved portion of British Indian policy in the past. This opinion is quite consistent with a desire, which I strongly feel, that all private efforts in education, especially the efforts put forward by

my own countrymen, should receive a fair field and due encouragement. But in order that such private effort should be forthcoming in any District, high education must, as a general rule, have been in existence in that District for some time. And therefore I trust that, when the Recommendation under notice comes to be carried out, no embarrassment will be felt by the local authorities in consequence of any *a priori* idea of the superiority of private enterprise over State action—an idea which, however well founded in many respects, is just now, I fear, likely to be set up as a fetish, and likely to be allowed to dominate in regions which, under present circumstances, at all events, lie entirely beyond its sphere.

I have only one word to add with respect to some of the specific cases enumerated in the Recommendation. The case of the Delhi College appears to me to be a particularly hard one. Subscriptions raised by the natives have been rejected as inadequate, and the College has substantially been made over to a missionary body. On both grounds the matter is worthy of reconsideration. As to the College of Jabalpur, I cannot imagine that there can be two opinions. In regard to Sind, the petition sent by some of the citizens of Karachi was not before us when our Provincial Report was written, and the offer made in that petition to contribute something towards endowing a college deserves consideration at the hands of the Government of Bombay. Coming lastly to the Gujarat College, I have nothing to add to what is said in the Provincial Report, save that the period of probation should be such as to give the College a really fair chance of success; and that the Government, if it is to err at all, should err on the side of giving it too long, rather than too short, a period of probation.

I next proceed to consider two Recommendations which deal with a point certainly one of the most important in connection with education. I allude to the Recommendations regarding moral education in colleges. In stating the opinions

which I have formed on this point, I know I run a certain risk of misinterpretation. But I am bound to say that, after the best consideration which I have been able to give to the Recommendations made by the Commission, and the arguments adduced in support of them, I am still strongly of opinion that the proposed measures will be impotent for good and may result in mischief. I will first take up the latter of the two Recommendations referred to. That prescribes that a series of lectures on the duties of a man and a citizen should be delivered in each college in each session. Now, first, what is the object of this new departure—for it is a new departure—in our system of academical instruction? Many of those who recommend this new departure admit that there is nothing in the character of the students of our State Colleges, taken as a class, which can be used in support of this Recommendation. Others, however, of the same mode of thinking, have distinctly said that the effects of education in our State Colleges on the morals* of the students has certainly been mischievous, not to say disastrous. One gentleman, who has been particularly active in what I cannot help characterising as the misguided and mischievous agitation which preceded the appointment of the Commission, has held up to the gaze of the British public a picture of the effects of State education in India (see Mr. Johnstone's "Our Educational Policy in India," pages xv, 8, 10, 26), which, if it is a faithful one, would certainly justify some new departure in the direction indicated. But is it a faithful picture? On that we have a statement submitted to the Commission by five gentlemen of the same party as the author of the pamphlet above alluded to. These gentlemen undertake to say that "the result of Government's so-called neutrality has been *by common consent*

decidedly injurious from a moral and religious point of view." What these gentlemen mean by "common consent" it is not very easy to understand. The evidence before the Commission, is absolutely overwhelming in favour of the reverse of that which these gentlemen describe as admitted by common consent. And I owe it to the system under which I myself and many of my friends have been nurtured, to put it solemnly on record that in my judgment the charges made against that system are wholly and absolutely unsustainable, and are the results of imperfect or prejudiced observation and hasty generalisation put into words by random and often reckless rhetoric. I do not deny that there may be individuals among men of the class to which I have the honour to belong, who have strayed away more or less widely from the path of honor and virtue. But if that fact affords sufficient ground for a condemnation of our system, what system, I would ask, is there under the sun which will not have to be similarly condemned? A considerable portion of the sensational talk that is going about on this subject is, I feel persuaded, due to a misapplication of that unhappy phrase—educated native. That misapplication is referred to upon another point in the Report but it is necessary to enter a caveat with regard to it in this connection also. On the one hand, it is confined, and of course quite erroneously, to those who have acquired some knowledge of the English language; and on the other, it is extended, equally erroneously, to those who, like Macaulay's Frenchman, "have just learnt enough English to read Addison with a dictionary". The latter error is the one which must be specially guarded against in discussions like the present.

But it may be said that the new departure, if not justified by the injurious effects of the systems hitherto in vogue, may still be justified on the ground that it is calculated to strengthen the beneficial effects of that system. And here I am prepared to join issue with those who maintain that it will have any such operation. I cordially accept the dictum of Mr. Matthew Arnold

that conduct is three-fourths of life, and a man who works for conduct works for more than a man who works for intelligence. And therefore I should be quite willing to join, as indeed I have joined, in any Recommendation encouraging such "work for conduct" (see the Bombay Provincial Report, page 148). But I cannot perceive that "lectures on the duties of a man and a citizen" at a college constitute such "work" at all. In a primary school, lessons on the duties of a man would probably be useful; in a secondary school they would probably be innocuous; but in a collegiate institution they would probably be neither useful nor innocuous. At the earliest stage of a student's life, ignorance of what is right is probably an important force, and then to correct that ignorance, moral lessons are a perfectly appropriate agency, although even here I should be inclined to rely more upon "lessons" like Miss Edgeworth's,* for instance, than on those like the extracts from "The Whole Duty of Man" by D. A. Eisdale which were published in Bombay at the American Mission Press, in 1841. When the student has advanced to a secondary school, much of the ignorance above referred to has presumably given place to knowledge. But still the habit of analysis and criticism is in a very rudimentary condition, and such lessons will, in all probability, do little harm. But if collegiate education is to subserve one of its most important purposes, and is to cultivate the intelligence so as to enable it to weigh arguments and form independent judgments, then these moral lessons present an entirely different aspect. At that stage, it is almost entirely unnecessary to instruct the intelligence, while it is of great use to discipline the will and to cultivate the feelings. The proposed lectures will, I fear, have little or no effect in this latter direction; while in some individual cases their effect in the former direction, being meant to operate not on the intellect but on conduct, may be the reverse of that which is desired—some-

* Notwithstanding Dr. Whately's protest, in a note in his edition of Bacon's Essays.

thing like that on the Cambridge scholar, about whom I read many years ago, whose first doubts about the divine character of Christianity were said to have been roused by a study of Paley's Evidences. That sense of moral responsibility in man which impressed Kant with the same awe as the starry heavens, can receive no strengthening from lectures on the duties of a man, any more than the awe which the starry heavens inspire can be produced by lectures on the rings of Saturn or the phases of the Moon. Such strengthening must come from the emotions and the will being worked upon by the histories of great movements, the lives of great men, and the songs of great poets. It must come from the training of the will and the emotions, by the actual details of academic life, by the elevating contact¹ with good professors and fellow-students, by the constant engagement of the attention on the ennobling pursuits of literature, science, and philosophy; by the necessity, so often felt, "to scorn delights and live laborious days"; and, even in our very modern State colleges of this country, though on a very humble scale, by "that mass of continuous traditions always powerful and generally noble," of which Mr. Gladstone² spoke so eloquently in his inaugural address to the University of Edinburgh.

That is the only course of moral education in which I have any faith. That is the course which alone, in my opinion, can be efficacious. Lectures on the duties of a man can at the best only lead to the "cold decrees of the brain". They have little or no efficacy in cooling down the "hot temper which leaps over" those decrees. These views might be easily supported by a mass of authority, but I will only refer here to that of one who is at once a writer on Moral Philosophy, a University Professor of the same subject, and a Chairman of a School Board in Scotland. I allude to Professor Calderwood, who has said in his recent work on *Teaching, Its Ends and Means*, that "moral

1. Cf. Matthew Arnold in *Nineteenth Century* (Nov. 1882), p. 714.

2. See *Gleanings of Past Years*, Vol. VII, P. 18.

training is gained not so much by formal inculcation of duty, as by practice in well-doing throughout the common engagements of life" (p. 73; and see also pp. 25, 83, 123, &c.).

So far I have dealt only with the first part of the Recommendation. The second part, dealing with the duties of a citizen, appears to me to stand on a somewhat different footing. It seems to be intended to point rather to what may be called political, as distinguished from social, morality. Lectures on this subject may be of use, as the subject is one on which there is some real ignorance which may be dispelled by lectures addressed to the intellect. But I must own that I am afraid of the practical operation of this part of the Recommendation. In ordinary times, it may not be very material one way or the other, though even in ordinary times one can conceive the inconvenient results which may flow from it. But in times of excitement, such as those through which we have scarcely yet emerged, I much fear that the result will be to drag the serene dignity of the academy into the heat and dust of platform warfare. If the Professor's lectures tend to teach the pupils the duty of submission to the views of Government without a murmur of dissatisfaction, there is sure to come up a set of Liberal irreconcilables who will complain that Government is endeavouring to enslave the intellect of the nation. If the Professor's lectures are supposed to lead in the opposite direction, there will be some Tory irreconcilables ready to spring up and say, even more loudly and quite as erroneously as they are saying it now, that the colleges supported from State revenues are hot-beds of sedition. " This is almost certain to occur in

times of excitement. It may not unlikely occur in quiet times also. And with this risk, I confess, it seems to me that the advantages of such lectures will have been dearly purchased. If it is argued that the professors in our colleges are not now prevented from doing that which may afford a target for similar denunciation, my reply is that the professors may well do what they deem proper in their private capacity as citizens. But it becomes a very different thing when they deliver lectures in a college in their capacity as Professors appointed by the State for the express purpose. The position on that point is exactly analogous to the position on the point of religious instruction under the Despatch of 1859, Sections 59-61.

I now come to the other Recommendation. The whole theory of moral education here adopted is one which I consider erroneous in principle, and likely to be bad in practical operation as tending to withdraw attention from the necessity of making not one or two hours of academic life, but the whole of it, a period of moral education. Holding that view, it follows, of course, that I cannot accept the suggestion about the moral text-book. But further objections to that suggestion are stated in the Bombay Provincial Report, to which I still adhere. I will only add that the view there enunciated receives support from the history of a similar experiment tried many years ago in Ireland. No less a person than Archbishop Whately endeavoured to do for the elements of Christianity what Bishop Meurin proposes, and the Commission recommends, should be done for the elements of morality based on Natural Religion. With what result? The text-book was written, approved, sanctioned for use and used in the Irish schools, both Protestant and Roman Catholic. Then the tide turned, and the book had to be abandoned and Archbishop Whately himself, the Lord Justice Christian, and Mr. Baron Greene resigned their seats on the School Board, upon the ground that what was done was a

breach of faith with the people.* It is not necessary to inquire which, if either, of the parties to the contest was in the wrong. The lesson to be derived from the occurrence is equally clear and equally entitled to "give us pause" in the course on which we are recommended to enter, whether the fault in that particular matter lay with the Protestants or the Roman Catholics, with Archbishop Whately or with Archbishop Murray or his successor.

I will only add one word here with respect to the question of religious instruction which was raised before the Commission. I deeply sympathise with the demand of some witnesses whose evidence has come before us, that provision should be made in our educational system for that religious instruction without which, as Lord Ripon declared before the University of Calcutta, all education is imperfect. I sympathise with this demand, but do not see my way to suggest any feasible means of satisfying it. There are only two possible modes, which can be adopted in justice and fairness, of practically imparting religious instruction. Either you must teach the principle common to all religions under the name of Natural Religion, or you must teach the principles of each religious creed to the students whose parents adopt that creed. The difficulties of these alternatives have been indicated by no less an authority than Mr. Cobden (see his *Speeches*, page 588, *et seq.*). Those difficulties are certainly not less great in this country than in England. They appear to me to be so great that we must be content to "take refuge," as it has been expressed, "in the remote haven of refuge for the educationists -- the secular system". But I would also point out to all those who ask for this religious education, that the cultivation of those feelings of human nature to which religion appeals is not even now entirely neglected, and that the further direction to be given to those feelings, according to the principles of each religious

creed, ought to be undertaken, as it is best carried out, not by a Government like the British Indian Government,¹ but by the Professors of the several creeds. "Under the legislation of 1806," says Mr. Matthew Arnold,² "it was not permitted to public schools to be denominational. The law required that the instruction in them should be such as to train its recipients for the exercise of all social and Christian virtues, but no dogmatic religious instruction was to be given by the teacher, or was to be given in the school. Measures were to be taken, however, said the law, that the scholar should not go without the dogmatic teaching of the communion to which he belonged. Accordingly the Minister of the Home Department exhorted by circular the ministers of the different communions to co-operate with the Government in carrying the new law into execution, by taking upon themselves the religious instruction of the school children belonging to their persuasion. The religious authorities replied favourably to this appeal, and nowhere, perhaps, has the instruction of the people been more eminently religious than in Holland, while the public schools have, by law, remained unsectarian."³ That seems to me to indicate, though only in a general way, the true procedure to be followed in this matter by those who are dissatisfied with the religious results of our educational system. Some agencies of this sort, more or less organised, more or less powerful, are at present working. Whether a more complete organisation will bring out results more satisfactory to those who are now asking for a change, is a matter upon which, I own, I am somewhat sceptical. And some of the grounds of my scepticism have been already indicated in

1. Cf. *Gladstone's Gleanings*, VII, 109.

2. *Report of the Education Commission (1861)*, Vol. IV, page 139; and see page 151. Still the schools were called "godless" (see page 144) in Holland.

3. Cf. the quotation from Sir R. Peel in the evidence of Mr. Wordsworth.

admit poor students free, subject to the limitation above indicated. On the contrary, I consider that the State is bound to admit them, because it is thus enabled to disseminate the benefits of its institutions wider, without increasing by one pie its own expenditure upon those institutions.

Proceeding now to the Recommendations in Chapter VI, I would specially emphasise the one about the appointment of native gentlemen to Inspectorships of schools. I am no fanatical advocate of the claims of my countrymen to appointments in the public service, but I must say that we have not received quite fair measure in this matter.* To borrow a figure from John Bright, we have had a feast with a very small quantity of meat and very large quantity of table-cloth. In spite of this fact, I did not agree to the proposal placed before the Commission for a hard and fast rule requiring one-half of the Inspectorships in each province to be reserved for natives, because I should like, before supporting so radical a proposal, to try the operation of the Recommendation which was accepted almost with one voice by the Commission. Long years hence, I hope we may be able to dispense with the services of all highly-paid Inspectors, Native or European. When school management and inspection on the most approved principles are better and more widely understood and when, by the development of local self-government, the people themselves begin to take a practical and energetic interest in education, there will be need for little more than examination and general supervision by the State, and that may be done by officers of a class corresponding to the Deputy or Assistant Inspectors of the present day. But such a consummation is yet in the distance, and its approach can only be accelerated, if in the meanwhile sympathetic and energetic officers are appointed to these

* Cf. Appendix B to Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji's "Note" presented to the Commission.

important posts. "Take care," said the founder of Public Instruction in Holland, "take care how you choose your Inspectors; they are men whom you ought to look for with a lantern in your hand." I may add one word here about inspection by revenue officers. According to my information, derived from official and (what in my view is of greater importance) from non-official sources, this inspection is very useful in Bombay. In Bengal, however, we have the testimony of one of the revenue officials, that a measure similar to that now in force here "set all the Education Department against us Magistrates, by giving us power to interfere with their proceedings." Our Recommendation is so worded as to avoid this risk, and it may be hoped that with the additional experience now acquired it may be entirely avoided.

There is one other point under this Chapter on which I wish to add a few words to what already appears in our minutes. After reconsidering all that was said in the debate against the Consultative Board of Education proposed by me, I am still of opinion that the view which prevailed was a bureaucratic and erroneous view. Looking especially to the scheme of local self-government in the Presidency of Bombay which has now been published, I do not see why the proposed board should not be able to give to the local boards quite as good advice as those officers whom the local boards will by law be bound to consult. And I will venture to add that even the trained officers of Government in the Education, as in any other Department, will not find it disastrous to the efficient discharge of their duties, if they now and then take extra-departmental counsel, in the way which, according to Mr. Arnold, even the despots of the Continent of Europe do not disdain.² I observe that it is

suggested in the Report that if the Department fails in its great duty of keeping touch with public opinion, "the Government is at hand to correct its deficiencies". I wish I could feel confident on this point. But it is impossible that I can do so; when I remember the almost stereotyped answer of Government to all appeals against its Departments, *vis.*, "We see no cause to interfere".

I come next to the important subject of grants-in-aid. And while I entirely concur in the Recommendation made to correct the practical inconveniences in the administration of the grant with respect to colleges kept by the Jesuit Fathers—a body who have done and are doing most admirable work in Bombay and elsewhere—I must say that I am not satisfied with the restriction to that body of the relief intended to be afforded by the Recommendation. Here again, I am referring mostly to institutions that may hereafter come into existence. And I cannot see upon what principle the benefit of the altered rule can be refused to an institution where the source of the grievance is not the constitution of the religious body to which the teachers belong, but some other circumstance. I ventured in the course of our debates to refer, as an instance, to the case of the New English School of Poona, as one which might be in a position to claim the benefit of the new principle. And I was told that I assumed, without good reason, that the Bombay system was about to undergo some radical change. As I did not and do not consider the Bombay system of payment by results pure and simple to be a perfect system, and as the Commission had unanimously recommended a revision of the grants-in-aid rules in consultation with school managers and with special reference to the complaints dwelt on in the Report, I thought it quite on the cards that a salary-grant system, or something similar, might, even in Bombay, be joined on to the existing system of payments by results. And in that view I referred to the New English School, and even then only as an

illustration, not by any means as exhausting the possible cases calling for the application of the principle under discussion. The other objection taken—namely, that my proposal raised by a side wind the whole question of private adventure schools—seems to me to be sufficiently answered by the Recommendation No. 18 in this chapter which has been adopted by the Commission, and to which I offer no objection.

of the Education Act of 1870, which according to Mr. Morley,¹ lays down absolute neutrality and indifference as regards religious instruction, and embodies the true principle thus expressed by Mr. Gladstone:² "The duty of the State is to hold itself entirely and absolutely detached from all responsibility with regard to their (i. e., of the voluntary schools) religious teaching." The argument, again, that the conscience clause owes its origin historically to England having a State Church, is also answered by remembering that in Ireland, after the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church there, it is still enforced,³ and that even here in India itself the Government have prescribed a conscience clause for European and Eurasian schools, not to mention that we have a State Church even in India which in 1880 cost £ 56,012 to the revenues of the country.⁴ And again, I own, I cannot see how it is consistent with the absolute neutrality on which so much stress was laid in the Commission, for the State to help some or even all of the warring religions and religious sects of the country with the funds at its command where those funds are avowedly applied for propagandist purposes. That seems to me not neutrality but participation in the strife, and even more, in fact, a rushing into the *melee*, so to say. And when it is said that the State has nothing to do except with secular results, I entirely demur to that contention, except in the case where the secular and the religious results are plainly severable one from the other. They are severable, when the pupils are allowed to withdraw from the religious lessons, if they please, in the manner provided by Section 7 of the Education Act of 1870. They are not severable, if the pupils are not allowed to do so.

1. *Struggle for National Education*, page 87.

2. Quoted by Mr. Morley, page 79.

3. And enforced in an even stronger form than is proposed by me, *vide* 41 and 42 Viet., c. 66, § 7.

4. See *Financiāl Reform Almanac* (1882), p. 190.

We are thus brought back to the question, is the conscience clause just and expedient? I can see no reasonable argument against the justice of it; indeed, the justice seems to me to be practically admitted, when a representative of missionary schools protests that attendance at religious lessons is already voluntary. That shows that if my proposal is accepted, the result will be only to enforce the good example of some missionaries upon the whole body—a result to which I cannot see any objection even in the argument that “compelling” the missionaries to do this might be wrong, though the doing of it might be itself right. Is it then expedient? If I thought that the effect of the proposed rule would be to reduce very greatly the number of missionary schools in the country, it would, in my opinion, perhaps be inexpedient. But I am satisfied that that will not be the result at all. The very eminent representative of missionary institutions in the Commission told us plainly that that would not be the result. And I agree with him.

But it is said that this objection is only made by a section of society which is indifferent to religious instruction. My answer to this is a very short one; it is at once unfounded and irrelevant. Lastly, I wish to notice one misapprehension on this subject. It is not correct to say that the proposal of a conscience clause is exclusively aimed at Christian missionaries, though it most certainly is aimed mainly at them. We have already seen the beginnings of educational activity on the part of the Brahmo Samajes and the Prarthana Samajes throughout the country. To them, as well as to the various religious persuasions—Hindus, Muhammadans, etc. which are referred to in the Despatch, and to which Lord Ripon appealed in his address before the University of Calcutta, a similar rule ought to be made applicable, although all these, unlike missionary societies, are local bodies, and although, therefore, any encouragement given to them will have a perceptible effect in fostering that “spirit of local exertion and combination for

local purposes " which is referred to in the Despatch, but which cannot be fostered by encouraging a foreign agency, although private, and whether missionary or non-missionary. For I confess I cannot follow those witnesses who say that missionary effort in this country has served to evoke private native effort; while on the other hand some of the representatives of native private effort have said that the encouragement given to the former has acted prejudicially upon their energies. *

A somewhat kindred question is the one of the education of the low-castes. I have no wish to quarrel with the Recommendation on that subject as it now stands. The feelings or prejudices on the subject are undergoing change, and a few years of cautious forbearance may put an extinguisher upon the question altogether. Meanwhile those who have to deal with each case as it arises must remember that, in carrying out a correct principle even in educational matters, much allowance is not unfrequently always claimed, and has to be made for the feelings and prejudices of even very advanced and enlightened communities.

The superstitions we have learned,

From education, do not lose their power,

When we have found them out; nor are all free

Whose judgment mocks the galling chains they wear.

A fortiori, therefore, should such allowance as has been here alluded to be made for those who, without the light of modern education and enlightenment, still cling to the prejudices which they have inherited from antiquity.

There is only one other point now to which I wish to refer in this memorandum. It does not fall properly within the scope of the Commission's labours as being a matter relating to the University of Bombay. But as the matter has been publicly

* See Mr. Apte's evidence, pp. 7, 26; Mr. Bhave's evidence, pp. 3, 4; Mr. M. B. Cooper's evidence, pp. 3, 4, 6, 9.

canvassed, I wish to say one or two words upon it. And first I refer to the statement of Father Rivè that the University appoints as examiners, Professors in the Government colleges, and not those in the private ones. That this is a mistake is shown by the evidence of Mr. Wordsworth, who has been for a long time a member of the Syndicate of the University of Bombay; and indirectly also by the statement of Father Willy, who formerly belonged to the same institution as Father Rivè himself (Father Willy's statement is an appendix to the evidence of the Rev. S. Gallo, S. J., of Cannanore, see page 10). A more aggressive and much less defensible statement is made by the Sub-Committee of the Bombay Missionary Conference. They say, "We would also state that this feeling of antagonism is carried into the higher examinations,—namely, those of the University. The year 1881 affords a notable *example* of this. Candidates in the examination were asked by Government *Professors*, acting as examiners, to what school or college they belonged. We regret to state that in some cases remarks were made tending to the disparagement of aided institutions in the eyes of the students. This is no private matter; it is one which has been to some extent already ventilated in the public prints." Now, the first remark which arises upon this statement is the great unfairness of the procedure adopted by the Sub-Committee. The members of it are, all of them I believe, members of the University which they attack, and they have never called upon the University Senate, or its Executive Committee the Syndicate, to investigate the serious charge which they make both against the University and the individual examiners concerned. The second observation which arises is that these gentlemen, not claiming to know personally anything about the gravamen of the charges preferred by them, nevertheless adduce no authority in support of them except by the anonymous writings in the "public prints", which, though affording very good grounds for investigation, cannot be accepted as in themselves

proof by any fair mind. Thirdly, it is to be noted that the statement above excerpted goes a great deal beyond the only evidence that is adduced for it. The "public prints" did not say, as far as I know, that what occurred in 1881 was an *example* of anything whatever. What occurred, or rather was supposed to have occurred, was commented on only with the reference to future improvement, and not as a repetition of former misdeeds. Further, the charge they made was not made against "Government Professors", but against one individual Professor, who had two colleagues, one of whom was a member of an independent profession, and the other a Professor in an institution in one of the Native States not having anything to do with the Department of Education in British territory. Lastly, upon the point as to what actually did occur I had an explanation from the gentleman in question at the time the matter was "ventilated in the public prints". That explanation has been corroborated by the examiner, who is unconnected with our State Department of Education, who writes as follows to his colleague: "I can heartily endorse to your statement that your sole motive in asking any question of the kind was to ascertain whether the pupil had read all his course; whether his ignorance was all pervading or only limited to certain parts in which his Professors had not lectured him, as we had been informed that the students of certain colleges had not been taken over the whole course by their teachers, and we thought it hard lines that good men should be ploughed simply because of the slowness of their teachers. The arrangement of the previous examination made by the Syndicate, by which each examiner took one-third of each paper, gave us no means of explaining wide discrepancies between various sections of a student's work, and accordingly it occasionally became necessary to ask whether there was any special reason for such inequality existing. The result of our enquiries in most cases fully justified the questions asked, and enabled us to do fuller justice to the particular

students." Such is the version of the occurrence alluded to, given by one who is not a "Government Professor". It has come to me, I may mention, from the gentleman against whom the criticism of the Sub-Committee of the Bombay Missionary Conference is levelled, enclosed in reply to my request to him to let me have in writing the explanation which he had given me verbally at the end of 1881. That request was made by me when I saw the statement of the Bombay Missionary Conference submitted to the Commission.

will add the educational to its many laurels, and achieve, directly or indirectly, the credit which Mr. M. Arnold gives to the Government of France on the Restoration after the battle of Waterloo. "To the Restoration," he says, "is due the credit of having first perceived that in order to carry on the war with ignorance, the sinews of war were necessary. Other Governments had decreed systems of education for the people—the Government of the Restoration decreed funds". The question of popular education is now mainly a question of funds. What is wanted and what we must trust to is not the short-sighted economies in the expenditure on higher education which have been suggested by some irresponsible reformers of our system, almost without exception *not* natives of the country, but what is wanted is an effort on the part of the British Indian Governments to follow, at however great a distance, the Imperial Government, which has in ten years increased its grant to education from £ 1,940,000 to £ 4,290,000 sterling,* and a like effort on the part of the leaders of the people to help the Government in spreading the benefits of education far and wide in this great country.

25th September, 1883.

D. M. BARBOUR'S MINUTE

1. The Report of the Education Commission is, necessarily, based on the recommendations of the majority of the members of the Commission.

In any case in which a minority may have dissented, the fact of the dissent is, as a rule, recorded in the proceedings; but as the pressure of my ordinary duties prevented me from attending the meetings of the Commission, it has come about that there are Recommendations of the Commission to which I

* See *Financial Reform Almanac* (1882), p. 145.

am opposed and in regard to which my dissent is not anywhere recorded.

I have, therefore, thought it best to note briefly the chief Recommendations to which I am opposed ; in the circumstances I have not thought it necessary to state the grounds of my opposition at any length.

2. In Chapter V, which deals with Secondary Education, the Commission recommends " that in the upper classes of high schools there be two divisions,—one leading to the Entrance examination of the Universities, the other of a more practical character, intended to fit youths for commercial or other non-literary pursuits. "

In this Recommendation I most cordially concur : but the Commission goes on to recommend that a certificate of having passed in " either of the proposed alternative courses be accepted as a sufficient general test of fitness for the public service ", and to this Recommendation I am strongly opposed. In my opinion, the general test of fitness for the public service should be a certificate of having passed by the final standard of the course which is of the more practical character, " intended to fit youths for commercial or other non-literary pursuits. "

My experience as the head of a large office in Bengal has led me to the conclusion that the adoption of the University Entrance examination as a general standard of education, has had disastrous effects in the case of youths not fitted to rise to a higher position than that of subordinate clerks. .

3. In Chapter VI, which deals with Collegiate Education, the Commission recommends a more favourable scale of pensions for officers in the Education Department.

This Recommendation is made solely with reference to the supposed needs of the Department. It takes no account of the additional expenditure which it involves, or of the fact that the adoption of the proposal would furnish a strong argument for

the sanction of additional expenditure in other Departments of the Government service.

The Recommendation appears to me to be founded on an inadequate appreciation of the whole of the facts, and to be somewhat out of place in the present Report.

4. I object to Recommendation (1) in Chapter VII, "that when an Educational officer enters the higher graded service of the Education Department, his promotion should not involve any loss of pay."

I object to this Recommendation because it deals with a question of administrative detail not within the scope of the Commission's enquiry, and because a temporary loss of pay may be much more than counterbalanced by an improvement in future prospects of promotion.

I also object to Recommendation (5) in the same chapter, "that it be an instruction to the Departments of the various Provinces to aim at raising fees gradually, cautiously, and with due regard to necessary exemptions, up to the highest amount that will not check the spread of education, especially in colleges, secondary schools, and primary schools in towns where the value of education is understood." I am of opinion that this Recommendation does not go far enough in the case of colleges. Private expenditure incurred in giving a boy a really good education is a remunerative investment of capital in India, and I am unaware of any good ground for taxing the general community in order to confer wealth and power on a class which is itself almost wholly untaxed.

5. In Chapter VIII the Commission recommends "that the bestowal of patronage in Government appointments be so regulated as to offer greater encouragement to high education." I cannot say that a Recommendation of this sort may not be necessary in some Provinces, or as regards certain Departments; but I desire to state as the result of my experience, which is

necessarily limited, that high education is already sufficiently encouraged by the bestowal of appointments in the service of Government.

I believe that the best man for an office under Government will often be the man who has received a good education; but the rule is subject to many exceptions, and, after all, the man who has the best claim to an office is not the man who has had the best or most elaborate education, but the man who will best discharge the duties of the office.

6. I have no objection to the Recommendation made in Chapter IX of the Report, "that Local Governments be invited to consider the question of establishing special colleges or schools for the sons and relations of Native Chiefs and Noblemen where such institutions do not now exist," provided that these institutions are made wholly self-supporting; but I dissent from the Recommendation "that the special encouragement of Muhammadan education be regarded as a legitimate charge on Local, on Municipal, and on Provincial Funds." I do not think it is possible to justify the taxation of the general community for the special benefit of one class.

I also object very strongly to the Recommendation "that in localities where Muhammadans form a fair proportion of the population, provision be made in middle and high schools maintained from public funds for imparting instruction in the Hindustani and Persian languages," and my objection is made in the interests of the Muhammadans themselves. If the Muhammadans wish, at their own cost, to encourage the study of Persian, or of Hindustani where it is not the language in ordinary use, every facility should be given to enable them to do so; but in so far as they do so, they heavily handicap their children in the race of life as compared with boys of other religions, and I therefore think that it is bad policy to spend the public money for the purpose recommended by the Commission.

I can fully appreciate sympathy with the Muhammadans in their present position, but that sympathy should not lead us to do injustice to other classes of the community, and I do not see how it would be possible to justify "a graduated system of special scholarships for Muhammadans", or to accept the Recommendation of the Commission "that in all classes of schools *maintained from public funds* a certain proportion of free studentships be expressly reserved for Muhammadan students." The proposals of the Commission appear to me to be so liberal as regards Muhammadans that they involve injustice to other classes, and their Recommendation, "that the attention of the Local Governments be invited to the question of the proportion in which patronage is distributed among educated Muhammadans and others," appears uncalled for, so long as there is no proof that Muhammadans are treated otherwise than fairly.

Although I have felt bound to make these remarks, I may add that it would, in my judgment, be an unmixed gain if the Muhammadans came forward and qualified themselves to take a larger and more important share in the administration of the country; but the improvement must, and I believe will, come from their own efforts. No attempt to improve their position by protecting them against the competition of other classes can have any permanently beneficial effect.

24th September, 1883.

ARTHUR HOWELL'S MINUTE

I regret that I am compelled to dissent from the Report on three points of principle. The Report is already so voluminous that I will state my dissent in the briefest possible way.

I dissent (1) from the third Recommendation under Primary Education. As I read the Despatches of 1854, 1859, and 1864, and the declared views of the Government of India.

in 1868, culminating in the Despatch of 26th May 1870, which was the outcome of prolonged correspondence, I hold that all Government expenditure on education should be "mainly devoted" to elementary education for the masses of the people. I would support this view by the considerations adduced in clause 3, paragraph 8, of Chapter XI of the Report, by the obvious needs of the masses of this country for general education both on its own account and as the best basis and preliminary to technical education, and by the precedent of most educational systems elsewhere. Hence in lieu of the Recommendation cited, I hold *that the elementary education of the masses should be declared to be that part of the State system of education to which public funds should be mainly devoted.* The arguments for and against this Recommendation will be found in the Commission's proceedings of the 14th February last, when the Recommendations, as they now stand, were carried against the principle for which I still contend.

I dissent (2) from clause 1, Recommendation No. 32, under Chapter VIII (Withdrawal), which seems to me to find no warrant in the Despatch of 1854, and indeed to go beyond its spirit and plain intention. I hold that there can be no adequate grounds in any case to bar even the consideration of withdrawal, still less in cases where it is possible that the sole conditions required by the Despatch may be fulfilled. The arguments for and against this view will be found discussed in the Commission's Proceedings of the 2nd and 6th March last. It is significant that, on the latter date, a proposition, practically identical with one negatived on the former date, was brought forward by a native gentleman, thus cutting away one of the main arguments of the majority that any such proposal would be received with profound alarm and dissatisfaction by the native community.

Hence, in lieu of the Recommendation cited, I hold that *under adequate guarantees for the permanence and efficiency*

of the substituted institutions, the gradual withdrawal of Government from educational institutions, especially those of the higher order, by their transfer to local, native management under the general control of and aided by the State, be regarded—

(a) *as an important stimulus to local effort and self-reliance ;*

(b) *as essential to the development of a sound system of grants-in-aid ;*

(c) *as conducive to the advancement of the social, moral and political education of the people.*

I dissent (3) from the view which underlies all the Commission's Recommendations about Legislation, in Chapter XI. The Commission, in its legitimate anxiety to avoid any measure involving over-centralization and denying free and proper latitude to local requirements, seems to overlook the fact that education in India was initiated on its present footing and maintained for nearly thirty years under the general orders of 1854 and 1859, and that the main causes of failure, recorded in the Report, were not that those orders were in any particular, unsound, but that they were not adequately complied with. Why then, is it impossible or undesirable to enforce the principles of the Despatches by a single Educational Act for all India? I hold that such a measure is not only possible but is shown by the repeated failure of executive orders to be desirable. I hold that a measure limited to principles might be framed so as (to quote paragraph 651, Chapter XI, Report) to be capable of ready adoption by the Local Government concerned to the circumstances of each Province. But I would, for the present, on the grounds stated in that paragraph, limit such a measure to primary education.

27th September, 1883.

EXCERPTS FROM THE REPORT OF THE INDIAN UNIVERSITIES COMMISSION.

9th June, 1902.

HISTORY OF UNIVERSITIES IN BRITISH INDIA

Before the days of British rule, the higher education of the Hindu community was in the hands of Pandits who imparted a knowledge of Sanskrit Grammar, Logic, Philosophy and Law. In Bengal, wherever there was a large Brahman or Vaidya population, there were *tols* or *chatushpāthis*; the students lived in the houses of their teachers and were taught and boarded free of expense. The Pandits depended on gifts, and on rent-free lands assigned to them by Hindu and Muhammadan rulers. Hindu schools of a similar character were established in other parts of India.

Muhammadan learning was cultivated in schools not dissimilar to those above described, in which the students were provided with subsistence as well as instruction. It is part of the tradition of Indian scholarship that places of study are also places of residence, and that the teacher should exercise a paternal authority over his pupils. The course of study in a Muhammadan place of learning included Grammar, Rhetoric and Logic in the first three or four years, and subsequent courses of Literature, Jurisprudence and Science.

the native teachers are debarred by ignorance of English from obtaining degrees or taking part in University work; it is not surprising to find that some of them place the golden age of Indian learning in the past, and that they regard the progress of Western science without enthusiasm. We note, however, with satisfaction that there are signs of an increasing desire for co-operation; and our inquiries in regard to the ancient places of learning have been welcomed as indicating that such co-operation is considered desirable.

Of the colleges included in the scope of the present inquiry, the earliest were designed for the cultivation of Hindu and Muhammadan learning. The Calcutta Madrasa was founded by Warren Hastings in 1782, and was for a time maintained at his expense with the aid of an endowment supplied by his friend and former tutor, the Raja Nobkissen. But the preference for Oriental studies gave way before an appreciation of the benefit to be derived from Western knowledge. The movement in favour of English education, led by Raja Ram Mohan Roy, resulted in the establishment of the Hindu College in 1817: this institution lapsed into financial difficulties, from which it was extricated by the aid of Government, and was ultimately reconstituted as the Presidency College. Other early colleges of Bengal were the Serampore College (1818), the Calcutta Sanskrit College (1824), the General Assembly's Institution of the Church of Scotland founded by Dr. Duff (1830), the Hughli College established from the funds of the Mohsin endowment (1836), and the Institution of the Free Church of Scotland (1843). In addition to the Government colleges at Dacca, Berhampore and Krishnagar, there were also the Doveton, La Martiniere and St. Paul's private foundations and the Bhowanipore College of the London Missionary Society.

In the Bombay Presidency a college was founded at Poona in 1821 "for the encouragement of the study of Sanskrit and of ancient Hindu Literature and Science." The scope of this

college has been widened by successive changes in its constitution and is now known as the Deccan College. The Elphinstone College had its origin in a fund raised for the foundation of professorships in 1827. The Wilson College originally called the General Assembly's Institution, was founded as a high school in 1834.

In Madras the foundation of colleges began at a later date, and from the outset the Western system of education has been followed. The General Assembly's Institution, now known as the Christian College, was founded in 1837; the Presidency College came into existence as a high school in 1841; and St. Joseph's College was established at Negapatam in 1846 by the Jesuits in charge of the Madura Mission.

The oldest college in the United Provinces is the Sanskrit College at Benares founded in 1791 "to cultivate the laws, literature and religion of the Hindus" and "specially to supply qualified Hindu Assistants to European Judges." A college was also established at Agra in 1823, and the college at Delhi was founded as an Oriental college, in 1825; the college at Bareilly arose in 1850 out of a high school founded in 1836.

The success of these institutions led to demands for the creation of Universities having power to grant degrees, and in 1845 the Bengal Council of Education submitted a proposal for the establishment of a University on the model of the London University. This proposal was considered by the Court of Directors to be premature, but nine years later the Honourable Court decided that the time had arrived for the establishment of Universities in India, and the proposal to take the London University for a model was accepted, subject to variation in points of detail. The function assigned to the Universities in the Education Despatch of 1854 was that of holding examinations and conferring degrees. It was thought advisable to institute Professorships, for the delivery of lectures in branches

of learning for the acquisition of which, at any rate in an advanced degree, facilities did not then exist in other institutions; and the subjects of Law, Civil Engineering, and the Vernacular and Classical languages of India were mentioned in this connexion; but the Universities were to be instituted, "not so much to be in themselves places of instruction, as to test the value of the education obtained elsewhere." Scholarships were to be attached to the affiliated institutions, and they were to be periodically visited by Government Inspectors.

In accordance with these directions the Government of India decided to establish Universities at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, and appointed a Committee to work out the details of a scheme in accordance with the outline sketched by the Court of Directors. In order to secure uniformity in important matters of principle, the Governor General in Council directed that the Committee should frame a scheme for all three Universities. While recognising that local circumstances would necessitate modifications, the Government of India considered it essential that the legal status and authority of each University should be the same, and that at each Presidency town the same degree of acquirement in every branch of knowledge should entitle its possessor to the same kind of academical distinction and honour. The Court of Directors, to whom the Government of India reported their action, noticed these views with approval. The Committee was composed of the late Council of Education with the addition of the gentlemen whom it was proposed to associate with them in the Senate of the Calcutta University and the members of the Legislative Councils of Madras and Bombay. The Government of India suggested for the consideration of the Committee, that two degrees should be granted in each of the subjects embraced in the design, namely, Literature, Science, Law, Civil Engineering and Medicine, and that students should have an opportunity of taking honours for each degree. They thought that one degree of the low standard

contemplated by the Court of Directors would be of little value. They also left it to the Committee to consider what titles should be assigned to the degrees, expressing a doubt whether it would be expedient to use the nomenclature which had, from long usage, become peculiar to the Universities of England. With regard to the question of University professorships, the Government of India said that the establishment of the general Presidency College rendered them unnecessary for Calcutta, but that there would be no objection to found such as might be required either at Madras or Bombay.

The Committee appointed under these orders confined themselves to the consideration of regulations for the holding of examinations and conferring of degrees; and left aside, as without their province, matters relating to the constitution and government of the Universities. Sub-Committees were appointed to prepare regulations for each of the Faculties of Arts, Medicine, Law and Civil Engineering and the schemes which they devised were submitted to the Governments of Bengal, Madras, Bombay and the United Provinces. After considering the criticisms made on the proposals, the Sub-Committees modified the draft rules and presented them to the General Committee. The latter made some alterations and then forwarded the scheme to the Government of India. Subject to remark on one or two points it was approved both by the Governor General in Council and by the Court of Directors.

Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, in order that he might take charge of it in the Legislative Council. In anticipation of the action of the legislature the Governor General in Council declared that the Governor General of India and the Governors of Madras and Bombay should be the Chancellors of the three Universities, and appointed the Vice-Chancellor and members of the Senate of the Calcutta University. It was left to the Governors of Madras and Bombay to appoint the Vice-Chancellors and Fellows of these Universities. The newly appointed Calcutta Senate were directed to promulgate the rules proposed by the Committee and sanctioned by the Government of India, and to pass such other rules, and take such further measures, as might be necessary to give early and full effect to the scheme.

The Bill introduced by Sir James Colville was passed as Act II of 1857. The preamble recites that "for the better encouragement of Her Majesty's subjects of all classes and denominations within the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal and other parts of India in the pursuit of a regular and liberal course of education it has been determined to establish a University at Calcutta for the purpose of ascertaining by examination the persons who have acquired proficiency in different branches of Literature, Science and Art, and of rewarding them by Academical Degrees as evidence of their respective attainments, and marks of honour proportioned thereunto."

The Senate, as constituted by the Act of Incorporation, was composed of the Chancellor, the Vice-Chancellor, nine *ex-officio* Fellows, and 29 Fellows appointed by name. Taking the list as a whole, we find that it includes two Judges, two representatives of the Bar, five ecclesiastics, two Directors of Public Instruction and two Inspectors of schools, five medical men, and five military officers, taken mainly from the scientific services. Seven of the Fellows appear to have been heads of colleges, and all colleges situated in Calcutta were represented

on the Senate. The intention of the legislature obviously was to create a body of competent advisers on questions relating to higher education, and to give adequate and carefully balanced representation to the various studies and interests concerned. It was provided that the total number of Fellows should not be less than 30.

Act XXVII of 1857, which incorporates the University of Bombay, is framed on the same model as the Calcutta Act above cited. The original Senate included 11 *ex-officio* Fellows and 18 appointed by name, and it was provided that the total number should not be less than 26.

Act XXVII of the same year, by which the University of Madras was incorporated, was also in substance identical with the Calcutta Act. There were 8 *ex-officio* Fellows; 33 others were appointed by name; it was provided that the total number should not be less than 30.

By Act XIX of 1882, the Punjab (formerly Lahore) University College was incorporated as the University of the Punjab, "for the purpose of ascertaining, by means of examination or otherwise, the persons who have acquired proficiency in different branches of Literature, Science and Art, and for the purpose of conferring upon them academical degrees, diplomas, oriental literary titles, licenses and marks of honour." The preamble recites that the College was established "in part fulfilment of the wishes of a large number of the Chiefs, Nobles and influential classes of the Punjab" and that the University is constituted in further fulfilment of the wishes of the same persons and classes. The body of Fellows is to include (a) *ex-Chancellors* and persons holding offices notified by the Local Government, (b) persons appointed by the Chancellor by name, (c) persons elected by the Senate and approved by the Chancellor, (d) representatives of such Chiefs of territories not comprised in British India as the Local Government may

notify in this behalf. The total number is not to be less than 50, and the number of elected Fellows is not to exceed the number of those appointed by the Chancellor. The original Senate was composed of 14 *ex-officio* Fellows and 119 others. Under section 12 of the Act, the University has power to appoint Professors and Lecturers.

In Act XVIII of 1887, which constitutes the University of Allahabad, the recitals and provisions which have sometimes been construed as restricting the older Universities to the functions of examining bodies are not repeated. There is therefore no doubt as to the legal power of the University to assume the functions of a teaching body; but in its actual working, Allahabad has conformed to the practice of the older foundations. The body of Fellows constituted by the Act includes (a) persons holding notified offices (b) persons appointed by the Chancellor, and (c) persons elected by the Senate and approved by the Chancellor. The number holding office under (a), (b) and (c) is not to be less than fifty; and the number elected and approved under (c) is not to exceed the number appointed under (b). The titles of 12 *ex-officio* Fellows, and the names of 32 others, are included in a schedule to the Act.

There has been a considerable increase in the number of colleges and institutions affiliated to Calcutta and Madras. Calcutta which started with 10 Arts Colleges has now 46 first grade and 32 second grade collegiate institutions. Madras has 15 first grade and 39 second grade colleges. Bombay, which claims in this respect to have pursued a wiser and a more cautious policy, has 10 first grade colleges and only one second-grade college. Allahabad has now 17 first and 13 second grade colleges, and the Punjab University has 8 colleges of the first and 7 of the second grade.

TEACHING UNIVERSITIES

It is generally agreed that the legal powers of the older Universities have been so narrowly drawn as to suggest that they are restricted to the function of holding examinations and conferring degrees. There is also a very general desire that the powers in question should be enlarged, and that all the Universities should be recognized as teaching bodies.

If the Universities of India admitted candidates to their examinations without regard to the previous training of such candidates, or to the places from which they come, they would properly be described as examining Universities and nothing more. They do in fact draw their candidates from a limited number of affiliated institutions, and by setting the standard of examinations and prescribing courses of study they exercise an indirect control over the teaching in such institutions. This circumstance has led some witnesses to contend that the Indian Universities are already teaching Universities. But the phrase "Teaching University" is usually taken to denote a University which makes direct provision for teaching by appointing its own Professors and Lecturers.

The question whether and how far the Universities are able to make direct provision for teaching is one of considerable difficulty. There is no source from which the Universities can hope to obtain the funds which would be required for the entertainment of a staff of University Professors in every branch of learning. The colleges affiliated to each University are scattered over a wide area, and it is not easy to see how their students can be brought together to attend University lectures. And, inasmuch as the better colleges already make adequate provision for the courses of instruction leading up to the degree of Bachelor of Arts or Bachelor of Science, it does not appear that the intervention of the University at this stage would be attended by good results.

We think it expedient that undergraduate students should be left, in the main, to the colleges, but we suggest that the Universities may justify their existence as teaching bodies by making further and better provision for advanced courses of study. The University may appoint its own Lecturers; and provide libraries and laboratories; it would also be proper that the University should see that residential quarters are provided for students from a distance. Colleges co-operating in such a scheme would, we assume, be willing to contribute, by means of scholarships or otherwise, to the maintenance of those students who take advantage of the University courses. In this way central Schools of advanced study may in time be formed. One advantage of the plan is that it can be worked out gradually, without the great initial expense which the creation of a complete professoriate would involve.

It has been suggested that the Government college at each centre might be created a University college, and enabled to make all necessary provision for courses of advanced study. We agree that every Government college should be so fully equipped as to set a high standard of efficiency, but we consider that in all colleges our first object should be to improve the courses leading to the ordinary degrees and we apprehend that difficulties will be encountered if we attempt to give to any college a monopoly of advanced teaching. The outlying colleges may hesitate if they are asked to pass on their best men to another college; there will be less hesitation if they are asked to send students to a central School, under the direct supervision of the University; for the students in such a School may retain their connection with their original colleges, and any distinction which they obtain will be placed to the credit of the institution from which they come.

Our plan has been met with an objection which demands careful consideration. If students are drawn from their own colleges to a central School, it is said that teachers in colleges

will be limited to the routine of the undergraduate classes and that their teaching will suffer in consequence. We sympathise entirely with the teachers who have placed this view of the matter before us; but we may point out that if the scheme we recommend restricts the opportunities of a college teacher in one direction, it may also open a wider field in another. In working a central School of Science, or Philosophy, or Literature, the University will naturally endeavour to utilise, as far as possible, the services of the best teachers in its own colleges. If a Professor has to part with some of his students when they begin their advanced work, he may cherish the hope of being appointed to deliver a course of University lectures or in some other way to take part in the work of the central School. We do not forget that the staff of a college is usually not more than equal to the work imposed upon it; but means may perhaps be found to relieve a Professor of part of his ordinary college duty, if he is required to give some portion of his time to advanced work elsewhere.

ENGLISH

The declared object of the policy which led to the establishment of the Indian Universities was the extension of European knowledge by means of the English language in the higher branches of instruction. The proper teaching of English must for this reason be regarded as the most important matter in the curriculum of the higher schools and of the Universities. Notwithstanding the prominent position given to English throughout the course, the results are most discouraging. Students after matriculation are found to be unable to understand lectures in English when they join a college. In some cases the difficulty is said to disappear after a short time: but it appears to be the case that many students pass through the entire University course without acquiring anything approaching to a command

of the language, and proceed to a degree without even learning to write a letter in English correctly and idiomatically. Even those who have acquired considerable facility in speaking and composition are, as we ourselves had many occasions of observing, lamentably deficient in pronunciation. The evil begins in the schools. The great object of parents and guardians is to pass their boys through the school course as rapidly as possible, and pressure is brought to bear on managers of schools to promote pupils regardless of their fitness for such promotion. Boys begin to learn English as a language, and also to learn other subjects through the medium of English, long before they are capable of understanding it, and in the lower classes are taught by ill-paid teachers, who have no claim to be regarded as qualified to teach the language. Faults acquired at this stage are seldom completely eradicated, and, even when a boy reaches the higher classes of a high school, he is generally taught by a teacher whose vernacular is not English and who is wanting in the capacity to teach the language properly. Numbers of students reach the stage of Matriculation without ever having heard an Englishman speak, and incapable of understanding English as spoken by those whose mother-tongue it is. It is beyond our province to enter into details of management of the schools, but it is patent that if the Universities are to turn out good students in English, boys must be better taught in this subject at school. We, therefore, venture to express our opinion that it is desirable that the study of English should not be permitted to be begun till a boy can be expected to understand what he is being taught in that language, that the classes at schools should be of manageable size, and that teachers, whose mother-tongue is not English, should be passed through a training college where they may be tested in expression and elocution by an Englishman before they are given certificates to teach.

The character of the Entrance Examination in English at the different Universities is also responsible for the inferior

information through the medium of text-books is, we consider, to be deprecated. Books which deal with the history and criticism of literary works which the student has no opportunity of reading should not be included.

We think that the course in English for the M. A. degree has been too easy at some Universities, particularly at Calcutta, and we think that it should be combined with a course in a Vernacular or in an eastern or western Classical language. This arrangement would remove the objection which has been taken to the restriction preventing persons, whose mother-tongue is English, from taking up that subject for the M. A. Anglo-Saxon has been included in some of the courses; we do not consider this to be desirable in Indian Universities.

The question whether a candidate for the B. Sc. degree should be required to pass in English as a subject is one on which there is some difference of opinion. It is urged, on the one hand, that the standard in English should be raised in the Intermediate course, so as to render this unnecessary. The candidate for the degree in Science would then be able to confine himself entirely to scientific subjects, and it is contended that the study of Science in English books will ensure that he has a competent knowledge of English when he takes his degree. On the other hand, it is urged that this indirect test does not afford sufficient evidence of the knowledge of English that the holder of a degree should possess. At the Calcutta University a compromise has been effected by which there is no separate examination in English literature and language, but a candidate is required to write an essay on some scientific subject in English. This does not appear to us to be necessary, and we are not disposed to recommend that a candidate for the degree of B. Sc. should be required to undergo a separate test in English. It has been suggested that English should remain in the B. Sc. course for the sake of those students who proceed afterwards to the degree of B. L. The High Court may decline to

accept the B.Sc. (without English) as sufficient evidence of the knowledge of English required of practitioners. We are, however, of opinion that to dispense with a separate test in English is the best for the general body of students in Science.

CLASSICAL LANGUAGES OF THE EAST

One of the most important questions in connection with second language which has been raised before us is whether, as between a Classical language and its allied Vernaculars, the Classical language alone would be recognized in the courses at the Universities or whether any of those Vernaculars may also be recognized. It is only in the Madras University that candidates are allowed the option of a Vernacular or Classical language. The evidence adduced at the University was conflicting, but the balance appeared to us to be against the existing practice. Whilst we are strongly impressed with the need for the more careful study of Vernacular languages we do not think, for several reasons, that to allow a student to study a Vernacular in substitution for a Classical language will secure that object or be advisable from the point of view of general education. We much prefer the plan of introducing a Vernacular language combined with English as a subject for the M. A. degree. In the first place, if the alternative of a Vernacular language is permitted, many students will lose the benefits to be derived from a knowledge of a Classical language containing a rich literature and embodying a record of the thought and action of one or other of the great races of mankind. There is no Indian Vernacular, according to the strongest advocate of the alternative study of Vernacular languages, that is as rich in literature as Sanskrit. In the second place, the amount of mental training which the study of a Classical language ensures is much greater than that required for the study of a Vernacular language. Thirdly, the study of Classical languages is of the utmost import-

ance for the improvement of their allied Vernaculars. That the Vernacular languages and literature have advanced more rapidly in Bengal and Bombay than in Madras appears to us to afford a striking illustration of this principle.

Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian are the principal Classical languages of India which are studied in the Universities ; Avesta and Pali are also recognized.

With regard to the teaching of Sanskrit, we have to remark that the teachers, whether Europeans or Indians, ought to have a critical knowledge of the subject and should be acquainted with western methods of study. This matter requires special attention in the Madras Presidency. We have noticed that the teachers of Sanskrit are not always regarded as on a level with, and are usually paid at a lower rate than, the Professors of other subjects. This circumstance is to be regretted and could not exist if only properly trained teachers were employed.

In reading and writing Sanskrit, the Devanagari characters, which are recognized as the proper characters for Sanskrit, should be used instead of any Vernacular characters such as Bengali or Telugu.

From the evidence before us we are led to conclude that the teaching of Arabic in the majority of Indian colleges leaves much to be desired. Those who graduate in Arts with Arabic as their second language go away with a very superficial acquaintance with that language. They have not scholarship enough, we were told, to make intelligent use of an Arabic dictionary or construe an unseen passage, much less write Arabic prose.

Though fewer complaints have reached us with regard to Persian we are not satisfied that the teaching of that language is as efficient or in as efficient hands as it might be. The

employment of graduates with some guarantee of their Persian scholarship other than the Arts degree with Persian as their second language, is the only remedy that we are able to suggest.

Persian has been accepted in all the Indian Universities as a classic, and we have found no reason to quarrel with that decision. We are however of opinion that no graduate should have it in his power to take the higher or Master's degree in Persian alone. The objections that have been urged against the granting of that degree in English apply with still greater force to the recognition of Persian in this connection. One of the other classics or Urdu should, we think, be made compulsory in all cases in which a graduate comes up with Persian for his Master of Arts degree.

In commenting on the ancient places of learning we alluded to the titles conferred on students who follow the traditional methods of study. The question has been raised whether the Universities might undertake these titles-examinations, and if so, subject to what modifications. Opinion is not unanimous as to whether University control would be for the advantage of the examinations, and it is said that they are not at present self-supporting and would therefore be a burden on the Universities. We think that the titles-examinations fulfil a very useful purpose and that every encouragement should be given to them, but we would not advise that the Universities should assume charge of them unless they can be efficiently conducted, unless a standard can be maintained of which the Universities will approve, and unless the transfer will be in the interest of ancient learning. The position in the Punjab is different from that elsewhere and we shall have occasion to revert to it in a subsequent paragraph (see page 254).

VERNACULAR LANGUAGES OF INDIA

We have already noticed two important matters connected with the study of Vernacular languages, and have expressed the opinion that (a) the Vernacular languages of India should not be recognized as second languages side by side with the allied classical languages for any of the University examinations above the Entrance, and that (b) the Vernacular languages should be introduced (as at Bombay) in combination with English as a subject for the M. A. Examination. The M. A. Examination in the Vernacular should be of such a character as to ensure a thorough and scholarly study of the subject. The encouragement of such study by graduates who have completed their general course should be of great advantage for the cultivation and development of Vernacular languages.

Speaking generally, we fear that the study of Vernacular languages has received insufficient attention and that many graduates have a very inadequate knowledge of their mother-tongue. We hope that the inclusion of Vernacular languages in the M. A. course will give an impetus to their scholarly study and as we propose that courses of advanced study should be under the supervision of the University, we consider that the establishment of professorships in the Vernacular languages is an object to which University funds may properly be devoted. We also think that Vernacular composition should be made compulsory in every stage of the B. A. course, although there need be no teaching of the subject. The Vernacular is already indirectly recognized where it is the language into which the student is required to translate. The evidence on this subject tends to show that translations are sometimes marked for the verbal accuracy of the rendering only; the principle should be recognized that no translation is satisfactory unless it is properly and grammatically composed. Further encouragement might be given by the offer of prizes for literary and scientific works of merit in the vernacular language.

Unless, however, a good training in the Vernacular is given in the schools, no effort of the University will avail. At present the subject is frequently neglected and the teaching is relegated to ill-paid and incompetent instructors. As in the case of English, so in the case of the Vernaculars, better teachers are a primary need. Every boy should, on the completion of his school course, be required to pass an examination severe enough to show that he has a knowledge of his own language sufficient to enable him to express himself with ease and propriety.

The Punjab University occupies a peculiar position in that it recognizes University teaching through the medium of the Vernaculars as part of its system. It confers the degrees of Bachelor or Master of Oriental Learning on candidates who have gone through a course of training analogous to that prescribed for the B. A. and M. A. courses on the English side, through the medium not of English but of the Vernacular (Urdu). This system has not so far borne encouraging fruit, partly through neglect and partly through the absence of proper text books and the inherent difficulty of obtaining the services of Lecturers competent to convey western learning to their pupils in the Vernacular. The preparation of suitable text-books in Urdu and Hindi was part of the original scheme of the University, but little or nothing seems to have been done in this direction.

There is considerable conflict of opinion among the witnesses who appeared before us at Lahore, regarding this part of the functions of their University. While some denounce the system in unmeasured terms, the majority uphold it on the whole, but counsel reform. We have come to the conclusion that while the initial character and scope of the endowments bestowed on the University at its foundation, have perhaps made the maintenance of the oriental side of the University binding on the Government, the manner in which that side has hitherto been conducted leaves much to be desired. The Regulations for the degree of B. O. L. in such subjects as Science indicate that some of the

most modern and advanced text-books are required to be used and that they have to be taught through the medium of the Vernacular (Urdu). Many of the text-books prescribed would be sufficiently difficult even if used in an English course. We are informed that there are no Vernacular translations of such works, and so far as we have been able to ascertain, there are no Professors in the Oriental College who have had the training or experience necessary to fit them to be Professors in advanced courses of Science. We would, therefore, suggest that the teaching for the two courses of B. O. L. and M. O. L. should be retained with these important modifications—

- (1) that English, as a second language, should be made compulsory throughout, the standard being left to be determined by the Syndicate;
- (2) that whenever possible, graduates with high honours on the English side should be appointed Lecturers in this department and that it should be their duty to prepare their courses for publication;
- (3) that funds should be set apart annually for the publication of the courses of lectures thus prepared and for the compilation and publication of other text-books on subjects not covered by them;
- (4) that the Oriental College ought to be subject to the same rules of affiliation as other colleges connected with the Punjab University.

We are not prepared, however, to recommend that the example of the Punjab should be followed by any other University for the present. We look upon the Punjab system as an experiment which has not yet justified itself by its results but which may have possibilities which we are not now in a position to forecast or measure.

Attached to the Oriental College is a school working up to the Entrance Examination in the Oriental Faculty. We are of opinion that such school work is outside the scope of the University.

NEED FOR UNIVERSITY EXAMINATIONS

Examinations are required only in order to determine how far teaching has been successful. The lecturer or tutor questions his pupils from time to time to test their power of understanding what he tells them. The college examines its students periodically to make sure that they are not wasting their time. The University examines candidates in order to ascertain whether their learning qualifies them to receive degrees. The suggestion has been made that this last process should be omitted. The colleges, it is urged, can test their own students as they think fit, and may present those who have passed the test to the University as persons qualified to receive a degree. To the objection that colleges would present candidates not really qualified, it is replied that colleges acting in this way would lose credit, and that their graduates would not have the same standing as those of other colleges. We think that it is beyond doubt that the greatest evil from which the system of University education

ation, (ii) the First Arts or Intermediate Examination, (iii) the Examination for the degree of B. A. and (iv) the Examination for that of M. A. A student has to continue his studies for two years after passing the Entrance Examination before he can appear at the First Arts or Intermediate Examination, and the same interval must occur between his passing the Intermediate Examination and his appearing at the examination for the degree. At the Bombay University there is a fourth stage, the Previous Examination which has to be undergone a year after the Entrance has been passed. This examination was originally instituted to provide for a bifurcation of courses as between Arts and Science at the end of the first year. The examination has been defended on the ground that students would become idle if the University did not examine them until two years after Matriculation. The result has been, it is said, to improve the second year's class preparing for the Intermediate Examination. The Previous

should be abolished. In our outline of courses of study, we have indicated that the stages of preparation for the B. Sc. degree should be equal in number to those for the B. A.

Some schemes have been put before us which involve an alteration in the character of the course for the degree of Bachelor of Arts. It is suggested that the Matriculation standard should be raised, that the Intermediate Examination should be abolished, and the B. A. course should be reduced to three years. We are decidedly of opinion that the standard at Matriculation should be raised for the reason that the test now imposed as a preliminary to the four years' course leading up to a degree is not sufficiently severe to ensure that those who enter a University are fit for the courses of study laid down for them. We doubt, however, whether the ordinary B. A., who had passed a higher standard at Matriculation than at present and studied for three years instead of four, at the University, would be a better product than the man who graduates under existing conditions. What we have to aim at is the improvement of the student when he becomes an undergraduate with a view to the ultimate improvement of the graduate. We have, therefore, no hesitation in setting aside the proposal to reduce the University course from four to three years. We do not approve the suggestion that the student would gain by spending a year more at school if this involves his spending a year less at college. At the three older Universities, a three years' course was originally instituted, but experience has led Calcutta, Madras and Bombay to prefer a course of four years.

We think it desirable that there should be uniformity in the nomenclature of the examinations and degrees in Arts and Science at the different Universities. We therefore suggest that the three examinations should be called the Matriculation Examination, the Intermediate Examination and the Examination for the degree of B. A. or B. Sc. respectively.

candidate who produces a certificate from a Fellow of the University or from the head-master of a recognized high school to the effect that he is of good character and that he has completed his twentieth year, from the certificate of attendance at a school. A candidate for Matriculation at Bombay has simply to forward with his application to appear at the examination a certificate of his schoolmaster, teacher, or guardian assenting to the application. When an applicant has attended a school or public institution within eight months of the date of his application, this form must be signed by the master of such school or institution. Out of the 21,750 candidates at all the Matriculation Examinations in 1901, 4777 were private candidates and of these only 716 (or 15 per cent.) succeeded in passing. It is not possible altogether to exclude the private candidate from the examination. Some boys are physically unfit for school life, and there are wealthy parents of high position whose wish to have their boys privately educated may reasonably be respected. But it seems to us that the appearance of private candidates should be restricted by proper rules, and that

The regulations generally require a candidate appearing from a school to furnish a certificate of some kind from the headmaster that he is likely to pass the examination. There is evidence that these certificates are sometimes given when they should be refused, and that the form of certificate required at some Universities is not altogether suitable. Whatever the form of the certificate may be, there is always a risk that it may be given in contravention of the spirit of the regulation. We are in favour of a simple certificate to the effect that from the results of class exercises and test examinations the candidate is considered likely to pass. A check on the action of head-masters will be provided if recognition is withdrawn in cases where certificates have been granted without due care.

To complete our survey of this part of the subject, we desire to express the opinion that no private student should be admitted to the Intermediate Examination, or to the examination for the degree of B. A. or B. Sc., unless by a special order of the Senate, to be justified by reasons to be recorded in each case at the time of making the order. At Madras such orders appear to have been made without sufficient justification, and the power of passing orders has been delegated to the Syndicate. On both points we consider the Madras practice to be unsatisfactory, and we suggest that the Acts of Incorporation may be so strengthened as to prevent any laxity in this important matter. The Punjab University, which admits private students to all its examinations, must, we think, be brought into line with the other Universities of India.

MATRICULATION AND GOVERNMENT SERVICE

The changes in the regulations of the Universities, which we have suggested above, should have the effect of withdrawing from the Matriculation Examinations a number of candidates, who now appear at them and who should not, in our opinion,

be permitted to do so. It remains to consider the question of the recognition of the Matriculation Examination as a test for Government service. It is not necessary to enumerate the posts for which success in the Matriculation Examination is either a preliminary or a complete qualification. It is sufficient to say that they are fairly numerous, while we have been informed in evidence that a preliminary qualification for appointments to certain Government posts is a certificate, not of having passed the Matriculation Examination, but of having appeared at it. There is a considerable body of opinion to the effect that it is desirable, in the interests of University education, to restrict a Matriculation Examination held by a University to those who intend to enter a college. Logically, indeed, this opinion would appear to us incontrovertible, but some witnesses have represented that, if Government institutes some test other than the Matriculation Examination for entrance into the middle grades of the public service, the Universities will be affected prejudicially. We have no doubt that such action by Government would cause a substantial diminution in the number of candidates for the Matriculation Examination. The financial question may require consideration; but we should regard with satisfaction any change which would restrict the number of candidates. In cases where the Matriculation Examination qualifies for admission to a professional examination, we suggest that the School Final Examination may be substituted for it.

We have been informed that the Government has it in contemplation to establish a School Final Examination in each Province at the end of the secondary course. Such examinations have already been instituted in Madras, Bombay and Allahabad, but so far do not appear to have been altogether successful. For this want of success, however, there are, as it appears to us, obvious reasons. The examinations at Bombay and Allahabad are conducted by the University, and some of the regulations, regarding the examination at the former University have not been calculated to popularize it as compared with the Matriculation.

We consider that the conduct of an examination such as the School Final, or the Middle School Examination in the Punjab, is altogether outside the function of a University and that any rules which assign such examinations to the Universities should be abrogated. A second reason for the unpopularity of these examinations compared with the Matriculation is that a candidate who passes the latter is as likely to obtain a situation under Government as one who passes the former. It appears to us that until passing the Matriculation Examination ceases to be a qualification for employment under Government, that examination will always be more resorted to than a School Final Examination by those whose object is to obtain employment. Looking at the matter solely as it concerns the advancement of learning, we think that it would be of great benefit to the Universities if the Government would direct that a Matriculation Examination should not be accepted as a preliminary or full test of fitness for any post in Government service. There is one other aspect of the School Final Examination to which it is necessary to refer. It was suggested in evidence that a University might accept this School Final Examination as a sufficient test for Matriculation, and discontinue the separate Matriculation Examination, or that it might supplement the School Final Examination by testing candidates for Matriculation in additional subjects. The former practice is already followed by the University of Allahabad. We have not before us sufficient information regarding the proposed details of the School Final Examination, to justify us in making any recommendation on this subject. If any arrangement could be made by which there would be one public examination instead of two, it would be advantageous, and failing this, we should welcome a system under which a candidate for Matriculation would have to pass in certain subjects at the School Final Examination, and to satisfy any additional requirements of the University at a separate examination.